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The Impact of Industrial and Mining Activities in Tribal areas
(An anthropological study of the tribal situation in
Bastar, Rourkela & Ranchi)

by
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PREFACE

Tribal situation in the country has always been sensitive and vulnerable. The ethnographic accounts of the tribal communities give a chronicle of tribal disturbances which have been taking place in a cyclic order in different parts of the country. The causes of tribal unrest are many, and of them the processes of land alienation, exploitation of the merchants and money-lenders, stringent forest policy restricting the freedom of the tribals over forest are most important.

Ever since the independence of India in 1947 the tribal areas are seething with discontent in greater intensity and for the past decade or so the rumblings of the growing discontent has been explosive and at times has led to large scale violence and armed conflict. The contemporary tribal rebellion and disturbance are mainly the results of various socio-psychological and political factors of which the complex processes of the adjustment of the tribal communities to the idiom of the emerging nation and the impact of the industrial and mining activities on the tribes are crucial.

As a part of the economic development of the country, industrialisation has come to India in a big way in recent times. Some of the tribal areas such as Bailadila in Baster, Rourkela in Sundergarh and Hatia in Ranchi which lay hidden in thick forests are already exposed to such development. The sound of the dumpers and bulldozers and of the wheels of the mills can now be heard in such out of the way places where only chirps of birds disturbed the silence. The railway lines and the tarred roads have made it easier for thousands of immigrants to reach these places which were a decade or so ago difficult of access and were thinly populated only by primitive tribes. Modern townships provided with facilities such as water supply, market centre, school, hospital and residential quarters have changed the landscape of the area where only a few clusters of tribal huts were present. The most modern and the most primitive are in juxtaposition in these industrial and mining belts.

In the wake of industrialization large scale acquisition of tribal land has taken place, and the forest economy of the tribals has been shattered. The tribals have been placed in a situation of sudden confrontation with thousands of intruders from all parts of the country. The outcome of these events is that the tribals have been displaced from their hearth and home and are rendered landless and unemployed. They have also been over-taken by a feeling of fear and insecurity resulting in considerable psychological stress and strain. Rehabilitation and colonization of the displaced tribals have been tried in many places. But improper attention, defective planning and the perfunctory manner in which the problem of resettlement of the affected tribals has been tackled have resulted more in failure than in success of these schemes and widespread resentment among the tribals.

This book brings together the problems which the tribals are facing as a result of the impact of the mining and industrial activities on them.

The main themes which were studied are the processes of displacement, measures of rehabilitation, problems of adjustment of the tribals to industrial discipline, growing politicization of tribal situation and messianic movements and manifestations of tribal unrest. The mining and the industrial areas which are covered in the study are Bailadila in Baster (M.P.) where the mechanized iron-ore mine is in operation; Rourkela in Sundergarh (Orissa) where the steel plant is installed and Ranchi in Bihar where the Heavy Engineering Corporation is in commission. A few tribal villages and rehabilitation centres were selected in the hinter land of the mining and industrial areas for the purpose of the study.

A scientific study of the tribal unrest in its regional variations and ramifications is lacking. But the occurrence of growing tribal disturbances and discontent has been a matter of great concern to the social scientists in general and administrators and political leaders in particular.

Ever since the tribal rebellion took place in the tribal areas of Srikakulam district of Andhra Pradesh and Ganjam and Koraput districts of Orissa as a result of the impact of the extremist ideology on the tribes of those areas.

In response to the concern the research project was designed for a systematic stock-taking of tribal situation in three different areas, (1) the agency areas of Srikakulam, Ganjam and Koraput districts, (2) the mining and industrial areas of Bailadila, Rourkela and Ranchi and (3) the frontier areas of Arunachal Pradesh. The study of tribal situation in the second zone i.e., the mining and industrial areas is the subject matter of this book.

The first area gives a picture of tribal unrest resulting from the infiltration of the non-tribal peasants of the coastal plains into the heart of the agency areas. The second area provides data on tribal discontent consequent upon the confrontation of the indigenous inhabitants and the immigrants. The third area presents a picture of tribal conflict arising from the crisis of values and identity. The research findings from these three Zones are given separately.

My especial thanks are due to Dr. B. D. Sharma, who was then the Collector of Bastar, Dr. Agarwal, the General Manager of Steel Plant, Rourkela and the Collector of Ranchi and their subordinate staff for providing necessary help to me and the field staff in carrying out research in the study areas. I express my deep sense of gratitude to them.

THRTI
Bhubaneswar.

N. PATNAIK
Director

CONTENTS

Part 1

		Page
Bastar (Madhya Pradesh)		
1. Introduction	..	1
2. Physical features	..	4
3. Political History	..	5
4. Study villages	..	6
Kirindul	..	6
Banda	..	10
Nakulnar	..	12
5. The Ruler and tribes of Bastar	..	13

Part 2

Sundargarh (Orissa)

1. Introduction	..	22
2. Physical features	..	23
3. Political History	..	24
4. Study villages	..	25
Jadukuder	..	25
Chutistola-Lakhotola	..	27
Jaida-Settlement of displaced tribals	..	28

Part 3

Ranchi (Bihar)

1. Introduction	..	35
2. Physical features	..	36
3. Political History	..	37
4. Study Villages	..	39
Raidih	..	39
Nawatoli	..	40
Sataranjoe-Settlement of displaced tribals	..	40

Part 4

1. Summary of the study villages and some recommendations	..	43
Appendix 1	..	56
Tables from 1 to 15	..	56
Appendix 2	..	69
A small project on the forest ore for the economic development of the Muris of Bastar.	..	69

BASTAR (MADHYA PRADESH)

INTRODUCTION

The tribes in India are in various ecological settings and also in various levels of development and societal complexities. Some tribal communities such as the Gond (Bastar, M. P.) live in the plains and carry on settled agriculture and are economically prosperous, while some others such as the hill Bhuiya (Orissa), the Juang (Orissa) and the Korwa (M. P.) inhabit the hills and forests and pursue such occupations as hunting, food gathering, pastoral activities and industrial labour. Many tribal areas are rich in mineral deposits and industrial potentiality. For example, Bailadila, the zone of huge iron-ore deposits lies in the region inhabited by the Muria, a primitive tribal community of Bastar district. To exploit the rich deposits the National Mineral Development Corporation has its way through dense forests and has got the area linked by road with the headquarters of the district and by railways with the port at Visakhapatnam. Several industrial activities followed this. The area, which was for so long remained hidden in the thicket of Sal, Teak and Bija trees started resounding with the explosives and the hum of the drills and dumpers. A township of about 725 quarters inhabited by about 12,000 immigrants on the staff of the Bailadila iron-ore mine has grown in this place with facilities of water-supply, community centre, market, school, hospital and social service institution. Bailadila today has become the largest mechanized iron-ore mine in Asia.

Similarly, the steel plant at Rourkela, Sundargarh district, Orissa which is another belt of tribal concentration is a massive industrial complex in which thousands of people who are mostly outsiders are employed in some capacity or other. The vicinity of Rourkela is rich in deposits of various types of minerals of which iron-ore and manganese are most important. Therefore Rourkela has the privilege of having one of Asia's most modern steel plants which produces annually 1.3 million tonnes of steel ingots with technical co-operation and credit from the Federal Republic of Germany. The transformation of Rourkela from

the thick forests teeming with wild animals and from a cluster of hamlets of the primitive communities such as the Munda, the Orson and the Bhumiya to a modern township is a symbol of the industrial transformation of the Independent India. Comfortable residential accommodation in picturesque setting, asphalt roads, adequate educational, medical and recreational facilities have replaced the wild life including the tribal communities.

Ranchi, another homeland of the tribes has become the seat of equally important industrial complex and has attracted large crowds of people from the nearby and far-off places. Many tribals in the process have been dispossessed of their hearth and home and rendered landless. Very little study of the tribals in industrial and mining areas has been made. But consequent on the industrial and mining activities the tribals are seized with mainly three problems. First, the tribals have had a sudden confrontation with the massive new comers to their area and developed as a result a fear complex that they would be subjugated by them. Second, they have been dispossessed of their land and village which the Government acquired for setting up the mines and the mills. Third, their entire life and culture have been disorganized creating difficulties for their adjustment to the new habitat and environment in which they were rehabilitated and receptivity to the industrial complex. Wide-spread demoralizing effects, provocative reactions, and the messianic and separatist movements which are noticed in the tribal communities are amongst many consequences of the impact of industrialization on the tribal communities. The present study probes in depth into the social consequences of the mining and industrial activities in these three tribal areas. Besides, the political culture of the tribal communities which is undergoing change as a result of the impact of national political idiom and policy is also studied. Bastar offers an ideal place for the study of the changing tribal political system and the tribal situation which followed. Bastar, before its merger in the Indian Republic in 1948 was a

native State ruled by the Kings of Kakatiya dynasty. It is inhabited by a variety of primitive tribes who are easily inflammable and highly emotional. The tribes are very loyal to the royal family, mainly because there was intimate relationship—economic, social and mythic—between the royal family and the tribals and the ruling chief of Bastar has been the chief Priest of Demarwal which is the presiding deity of the tribal communities. With the introduction of new administrative set up in the wake of merger of the State in the Indian Republic, the ruling chief has been thrown out of power and administrative control of the State and subsequent to this many changes have occurred in the political organisation of the tribal communities and in their relationship with the past feudal order. That the Raja of Bastar is no more the chief of the State is beyond their comprehension. The contemporary political and administrative situations which impinge upon the traditional institutions of Manjhi, which is the core of the tribal political system, the structure of power, the channels of communication and the lines of command and obedience in the tribal societies have become a major concern to the tribals, leading to great tribal unrest in Bastar. The study of the tribal situation in Bastar includes what the nature of political organisation among the tribes of Bastar was, how it functioned in the past, and what modifications it underwent through the successive stages of non-tribal political domination. A scientific knowledge of the tribal political organisation in its ramifications which are indicated above may be of great help in formulating valid policies and programmes of action for developing and increasing the commitment of the tribal communities to the contemporary political order and to the industrial discipline so that every section of our nation is benefitted in an equal manner without detriment to their respective social structure, cultural tradition, value system and economic organisation.

SELECTION OF STUDY VILLAGES

Kirindul (Bastar)

Three villages were selected in Bastar district for intensive investigation, two villages in Dantewara Tahsil and one in Konta Tahsil of South Bastar which is the most backward part of the district. Of the three villages, Kirindul village is situated at a distance of 126 Kms. from Jagadalspur, the headquarters of the district. The village

is lying in close proximity to the Bailadila Iron Ore Project, the largest mechanized Iron Ore Mine in Asia. Bailadila—"hump of an ox" in the language of the aborigines—is the name given to the hill ranges about 32 Kms. in length and about 4 Kms. in width in Bastar district. Reserves of ore in these hills is estimated to be 3,000 million tonnes. The mine is worked out by the Iron Ore Division of the National Mineral Development Corporation Limited (N.M.D.C.). The installation of the plant was completed by April 1966 and the same year the plant went into trial production. A very big township of modern houses with community centres, schools, hospitals, library, club, guest house, marketing centres and many other social and welfare institutions have come up near Kirindul to provide accommodation and amenities to the officers and staff working in the project.

Till 1960, this area was buried in the thick forests of the Bailadila hill ranges and was completely cut off from the other parts of the country. In 1967, it generally took about a week to reach the area on foot from the nearest railhead at Ralpur which is at a distance of 296 Kilometres from Kirindul. The Government of Madhya Pradesh have connected Bhanai at the Bailadila foot hills with Jagadalspur by a tarmac road covering a distance of 110 Kms. The National Mineral Development Corporation has made an all weather road from Bhanai to the Deposit 14 at Kirindul which covers a distance of 20 Kms. The Bailadila mining zone is connected by a broad gauge railway line over a distance of 475 Kms. with the port at Visakhapatnam through which the ore is exported to Japan. The railway line was completed in the year 1967. Imbedded in this huge mining complex where the giant-blast hole drills and dumpers and the crushing, screening, wagon loading and fine ore disposal plants are in operation round the clock, is the tiny Kirindul village of the Maria tribe which is in the level of stone age civilisation. The most modern and the most primitive have been put in to juxtaposition at Kirindul.

The village provides an ideal case study of the nature of reaction of a primitive community towards a highly complex mechanised Iron Ore Plant and the extent of their participation in the plant for their economic advancement. It is for the study of these problems this village was included in the study.

Nakulnar (Bastar)

The Second village which was selected for study is Nakulnar. It was outside the mining complex at a distance of 26 Kms. from the headquarters of Dantewara Tahsil to which it belongs and 108 Kms. from Jagadalpur. It is a very remote village not connected by any good road. Munlika Khandul which is homogeneous in composition, Nakulnar is heterogeneous. This village has two sections—the Muria section of 61 households and the Thakur section, a non-tribal merchant community of 24 households. This merchant community immigrated to this village long back from Uttar Pradesh. This village presents a typical situation for the study of the nature and extent of the exploitation to which the Murias of the village are subject. In one context the Muria are under the influence of the mining complex and in the other context they are subjected to the exploitation of the Thakurs. In order to have the picture of tribal life in different contexts this village was studied.

Banda (Bastar)

The third village which was selected in Bastar is Banda. This village is situated in the thick forest at a distance of 10 Kms. from Korta, the headquarters of Korta Tahsil to which it belongs and 178 Kms. from Jagadalpur. Accessibility to this village is only by the Kachha forest road which passes through it. It is almost a homogeneous village inhabited by 40 households of the Dorla tribe, two household of Lohars and one household of the Gond.

Like Nakulnar, this village also is outside the mining zone. But the important feature of this village is that its residents depend on forest for their livelihood and are subjected to the harassment of the local forest authorities. A large part of this Tahsil comprises Reserve forests (1,43,744 hectares out of a total area of 4,88,928 hectares) and the land required for cultivation is limited. This Tahsil for a variety of reasons is experiencing a heavy pressure of population. It is for these special features this village was selected.

Besides the study of the tribes in these three settings, there were also need to study an input-output analysis of the political organisation of the tribal communities. The tribes of Bastar have a strong cephalous political structure. The ruler of Bastar is considered the political head. The institution of Majhi which supports this cephalous political structure is well established in Bastar. It is important to study how the tribal

political organisation functions now in Bastar especially after the death of Pravinchandra Bhanja Deo and what modifications it is undergoing through the successive stages of non-tribal political domination. A study of political structure of the tribal communities of Bastar reveals not only the processes of political socialisation, recruitment, interest articulation and interest aggregation at the district level, but it also throws light on how the tribal political structure functions in relation to the national political organisation. An attempt at studying these political phenomena is of great significance as it helps us in studying the genesis, growth and manifestations of tribal unrest in Bastar.

Jadakudar (Sundargarh)

Jadakudar is one of the three study villages located in the industrial zone of Rourkela Steel Plant, this village was selected mainly for two reasons. First, it is a tribal village inhabited by the Munda and the Oran. Second, they are converted into Christianity of two denominations Catholic and Protestant. Our interest in finding out to what extent the tribes of both denominations took up the industrial service and with what consequences led us to select this village for study.

Churhatola and Lakhoteola (Sundargarh):

The two adjacent villages are nearer to the Rourkela Steel Plant than Jadakudar and the majority of the inhabitants is the Kisan, a tribal community more advanced in agriculture than other tribal communities living in the area. In response to the growing demand for vegetables in the industrial township of Rourkela the Kisan have taken to vegetable growing extensively and business with vegetables. These two villages were of interest as they show how the access to economic development of the people was based on their old habits and aptitude. The pursuit of growing vegetables was not without trouble. It had links with land, money and technical know-how which were the monopoly of the vested interest of the locality and the Kisan had to fight with the local land lord for establishing their right on land and getting their share of these scarce resources. The nature of adoption by the Kisan of the improved agricultural practices which was stimulated subsequent to the industrial development in the region and their encounter with the local landlord were the subject matters of study in this village.

These two villages are within the orbit of the Heavy Engineering Corporation located in Ranchi, and experience the direct impact of it in all respects. Subsequent to the industrial development the tribals started growing varieties of vegetables to sell in the industrial zone. In this regard these villages have similarities with their counterparts located in the industrial belt of Rourkela. But they differ from them in the matter that they experience no trouble in regard to agricultural development. The need for analysis of the similarities and dissimilarities between the villages situated in Ranchi and Rourkela industrial belts was the guide line for including them in study villages.

Jajda and Sataranjee

Two tribal settlements were studied in which the tribal families, which were displaced in the wake of the Rourkela and Ranchi Industrial Projects, were rehabilitated. They were Jajda in Rourkela and Sataranjee in Ranchi industrial belts. The purpose of taking up these colonies was to find out to what extent the displaced persons have adjusted to the new settlement and how do they earn their livelihood and what is their response to the regional and national and political activities.

Techniques of field work

As regards the methods of data collection the main techniques were the informal interview with a large number of informants and case studies. Observations were made in various places. Besides, a census was conducted and information about occupation, land holding, income and expenditure, food-gap, etc. of the selected families of the study villages were collected by means of schedules and questionnaires. Genealogies of tribal chiefs and the families having leadership status were drawn to find out what changes have taken place in occupational pattern, social alignment, interest articulation and political communication in successive generations. We studied various movements which took place in the study areas in the past and compared their genesis, growth and manifestations with the contemporary movements by means of case history method. We found that in the study of tribal unrest the case history method was most useful.

Bastar, the biggest district of Madhya Pradesh formed in 1946 is situated in the extreme south of the State, farthest from the State headquarters and also the most difficult of access. Of all the district headquarters, its headquarters is the farthest from the railway station—the nearest convenient railway station is Raipur which is at a distance of 185 miles.

The district is situated between latitudes 17° 45' and 20° 34' N and longitudes 80° 15' and 82° 15' E. It is bounded on the north by Durg and Raipur districts, on the west by Chhanda (Maharashtra) and East Godavari (Andhra Pradesh) districts and on the south by East Godavari district. The area of the district is 38,171 Sq. Kms. that is, a little bigger than Kerala State. The total population of the district is 1,167,501 according to 1961 Census.

The Indrawati river flows across the centre of the district and negotiates a distance of 240 miles within it. It enters the district from Orissa near the confluence of its tributary, the Baskol, 13 miles upstream of Jagdalpur and after taking a tortuous course for some distance joins the Godavari river below Sironha. Other important rivers of the district are the Sabri, the Tel, the Narangli, the Gudra, the Nai Bherat, the Kotri, the Dantewara, the Dudh and the Mahanadi, which drain and irrigate different regions of Bastar.

The district is full of mountains ranging in height from 900 ft. to 3,928 ft. The loftiest peak among them is Bailadila which is situated south of the Indrawati river and extends north-south. To the west and south-west of the district is the extensive mass of hills known as Abujmar, which is the terrain cognita of the State. The Abujmar hill ranges vary from 2,000 to 3,160 ft. in height.

The district receives both the south-west and north-east monsoons and falls in the heavy rainfall region of the State. The climate of the plateau is pleasantly cool. The hottest month is May, but the maximum temperature rarely crosses 39°C. December is the coldest month and the temperature goes down to 10.1° C. On the whole the climate in the interior regions of the district is damp and unhealthy.

23,258.6 sq. kms. area of the district is under forest. Considering the forest flora the district could roughly be divided into 4 belts:

(i) the mixed forest of the north, (ii) the central moist region comprising the Sal belt, (iii) the Teak belt, and (iv) the dry region comprising mixed forest. The northern belt of mixed forest is not so important for timber as for the collection of forest produce. The central moist region and the adjacent teak belt produce teak of the best quality. The places like Bhopsalpatnam, Kusakonda and west Kanta are famous for the teak forest.

The Palmyra Palm (*Borassus flabellifer*), locally known as tal, grows gregariously in the south and south-east. From this the people extract 'Tal'. Sulphi is also grown in places and thrives best in the central regions of the district. The suchi yields a sap which is used as a beverage by the local tribals. Other palm trees are the wild date palms (*Phoenix sylvestris* and *P. sepioides*) locally known as chhind and buta chhind. From the stem of the chhind is obtained a grub which is a delicacy for the tribals.

Bester is one part of India where the buffalo and bison are still found in the forest. The horn of bison is much prized and the Bison-horn Maria prepare their dancing head-dress with it. Tigers and Panthers are found throughout the district, but they abound in Abujhmar. Wild dogs are fairly common. Among the herbivorous animals found in the forests are the Nilgai, the four horned antelope, sambar and spotted deer. The barking deer is fairly common. Among the jungle birds mention may be made of the peacock, parrot and red and grey jungle fowl.

Dantewara and Kanta tahsils of the district deserve more attention as our study villages—Kirindul, Nakulnar and Benda are located in these tahsils. The people of these two tahsils make their living in different ways and this difference is largely determined by the different ecological settings which they inhabit.

Dantewara Tahsil

The Dantewara tahsil comes under the South Bester subdivision. This tahsil is situated towards the west and south-west directions of Jagadalspur. The river Indrawati and its feeders Sankini and Dankini flow in the Tahsil. Bailadila forms the important mountain ranges of this tahsil. There are a few hill streams which are used for the purpose of irrigation.

The total area of the tahsil is 1633 sq. kms. with a population of 1,34,148 according to 1951 Census. The density of the population is 166 persons per sq. km. The tribal population of the tahsil is 82.45 per cent. The tribes inhabiting this tahsil are mainly the Halba and the Muria. The teak of the best quality is the chief forest produce of the tahsil.

A large number of people carry on agriculture as primary source of livelihood. Paddy is the principal crop grown in the plains; but in the hills millet takes its place. The tribals practise shifting cultivation against the forest rules prohibiting to do so.

The quality of the livestock is very poor. The cattle are dwarf and of local breed. The people use both cows and bullocks as draught animals.

The place of the greatest importance is the Bailadila where the Iron-Ore mining complex is installed. It is situated in the heart of the tribal area and is accessible by road and rail. The Bailadila mining complex promises a great scope for the allround development of the tribals.

Kanta

Kanta is the southern most tahsil of the district. The Alabaka and Matimake hill ranges of about 2,800 ft. high above sea level lie in this tahsil. The river Sabri flows through the tahsil and meets the Godavari river at Kanta.

The geographical area of the tahsil is 1988 Sq. Km. with a total population of 1,08,549, according to 1961 census. The percentage of the scheduled tribe to total population of the tahsil is 84.78 per cent. The density of population is 254 persons per Sq. Km. The main tribes of this tahsil are the Dorla and the Gond. The Dorla are numerically preponderant in the tahsil. They are settled cultivators and use the plough for tillage. In addition, they carry on business in timber which they transport to far off places by means of river. They also collect minor forest produce to supplement their income from cultivation and business.

POLITICAL HISTORY

The historical evidences show that Annam Deo, the younger brother of Pratap Rudra Deo, who was the chief of the Warangal Kakitiyas was

the founder of the erstwhile state of Bastar about 1424—25 A. D. The capital of the state was at Bastar, now a small village situated at a distance of 12 miles from Jagdalpur, the present headquarters of the district established at the time of Dulpat Deo in 1750.

During the reign of Darya Deo, the successor of Dulpat Deo, there was a revolt by the Halbas, but it was ruthlessly suppressed. About a century later in 1876 the Murias rose in revolt which was also kept in check by stern measures. Being cut off from the rest of the country the district was spared from the frequent attacks by invading armies. The Marathas exercised only a nominal control over Bastar. But at all times the ruling dynasties of Bastar continued to dominate the area.

The first European who visited Bastar in 1795 was captain Blunt. He had to return without much exploration because of the hostility of the tribals. Captain Frenwick followed him in 1850. In 1910 there was a large scale disorder in Bastar when the tribals started a wide spread rioting, which was however, suppressed.

STUDY VILLAGES

Kirindul

Kirindul, a small Muria village lies in the foothills of the Bailadila hill ranges of Dantewara Tahsil of Bastar district. Dantewara came on the economic map of the country only a few years back when the Bailadila mining complex was established at Kirindul. Bailadila which so far was providing only a background for the myths and folk-lore of the primitive tribes of the area is today the largest mechanized Iron-Ore Mine in Asia. The sound of the giant bore drills and dumpers have broken the silence of the locality, the stream of the fortune-seekers who have trickled into this area has swept the tribal communities off their feet and the confrontation which followed between them and the immigrants has been devastating to the tribal communities. The roads and the railway line which have connected the village with other parts of the country have broken the physical and cultural isolation which the tribal communities of this village were enjoying in the pre-mining period. Our attempt is at identifying the consequences of these developments in the life of the tribes of Kirindul.

Before we indicate them it is necessary to state briefly about the village and the life and culture of the tribal community inhabiting it.

Kirindul is so to say a homogeneous tribal village inhabited by the Muria. The village consists of 49 households (246 people) of which 5 households (16 people) are of the Scheduled caste and caste Hindus and the remaining 44 households (230 people) are of the Muria tribe.

The village is located in the plain land on the bank of a river called Kirindul. In selecting a site for habitation the Muria look for natural protection, suitable land for cultivation and permanent water-supply. In addition, they also resort to divination to obtain spiritual sanction for settling down in the site selected by them. This village fulfils all these conditions. Like all other Muria villages in the district Kirindul has a number of shapeloos clusters of hamlets called Para. The Paras are named after the clan heads. In this particular case there are four Paras situated at different places within the 5 mile radius of the village boundary. The Paras are called Patel Para, Naisipara, Pujampara, Manjarapara. The houses in each para are also scattered each having a kitchen garden adjacent to it and a fence around it. The village deities are installed in between the Paras which are connected with each other by foot-path.

Each house is divided into a number of functional portions : an interior courtyard, the central plinth and hut, the lateral cattle shed and the posterior kitchen garden. The roof is made of rafters of Wood and bamboo. The walls are made of mats of bamboo plastered with mud. Every house has a central hearth to keep the room warm. The huts have no windows. The exit for the smoke is the open space left between the walls and the roof. Each house has a temporary hut close to it and the women of the house stay in it during menstruation. Like other Muria villages, Kirindul, has a guest house called Thanagudi which provides accommodation to the Government servants during their visit to the village. In the extreme east of the village lies the burial ground, with flat stones erected in memory of the departed souls. At the outskirts of the village stands the village shrine of the mother goddess, under a Mahwa tree.

Economic life

The economic life of the Muria revolves round three different activities, viz. agriculture which is the principal source of livelihood, collection of forest produce, and wage earning

from agricultural and mining labour which are only subsidiary sources of living. A brief account of these pursuits is presented below.

Agriculture

Land is as dear as life to the Muris. In this connection interest lies more in possession than in production. Formerly, there was 608 acres of land in this village. But it has been reduced to 330 acres of cultivable land as a result of acquisition of land for the purpose of the mining project. Although the Muris received some compensation from the Government for the land they lost they were not satisfied. They could not make best use of the money and spent it in drinking and in unnecessary expenses. During the study of this village it is found that only 240 acres (85 per cent) of the cultivable land were under cultivation and the remaining 140 acres of land was lying fallow.

The Muris grow paddy which is the principal crop and some millets such as Kujki (*Penium Miticuum*), Sikma (*Penium milage*), and Getka (*Penium frumentum*) and maize. The cropping pattern shows no change. The same variety of paddy, millet and maize are grown year after year and no improved seed is used for these crops. Their old food habits and taste for those crops which show no change explain why the traditional cereals and pulses and the cropping pattern associated with them are being continued. The Muris are fond of millets which they eat by frying or by preparing a gruel by mixing it with rice, millet and green leaves. The preparation of rice mixed with horsegram, maize and pumpkin, is as much delicious as any non-vegetarian food is.

The method of cultivation practised by the Muris is very crude and primitive. They pay some attention to the Bari land (kitchen garden) in which they grow maize and vegetables, by way of applying cowdung manure to the soil and weeding and watering the plants if needed. But they give little attention to the land in which they grow paddy and millets. In a perfunctory manner. Naturally the yield from such lands is much low.

A Muris family on an average get an annual income of Rs. 273-00 from agriculture. This shows how much under developed the agriculture practised by the Muris is. As the average family size in Kirindul is 8.25, the per capita income from agriculture

comes to Rs. 53, which is four times less than the corresponding income for Baster as a whole a decade back. Another reason for the poor yield is the denudation of the forest and the resultant soil erosion, and failure of timely rain. The Kirindul river was an important source of irrigation. But as its water was mineralized and it was rendered useless for irrigation. The river was the main source of water supply for bathing and drinking. But as its water was made dirty and polluted by the process of mining operation, The river does not serve any purpose of the people of Kirindul.

The average annual income of a household in Kirindul is Rs. 1,060-00. It varies from Rs. 10-00 to more than Rs. 1,500-00. The average annual income per household of Kirindul consists of Rs. 273-00 from agriculture, Rs. 150-00 from minor forest produce, Rs. 625-00 from labour, (agriculture and mining), and Rs. 13-00 from miscellaneous sources. It shows that wage earning has been the primary source of living where, as the erstwhile major occupation, viz., agriculture has been one of the minor sources of livelihood in the wake of mining complex in the village.

In other words, the access to mining labour has demotivated interest in agriculture. The Muris are very much addicted to drinking and one of the important reasons of homicide in their society is alcoholism. A case of homicide resulting from the drunkenness is given below:

In one occasion a man of Kirindul stabbed his elder brother. At the time of the homicide both were in drunken stage. The elder brother who lived in another village came to Kirindul to visit his younger brother. When they met each other they felt very happy and drank together. At that time the elder brother proposed to take a cow from his younger brother. At this the younger brother got furious and punched the belly of his elder brother by means of a dagger. After committing the murder he ran to the Kotwar and reported the matter. The Kotwar informed the police who arrested the culprit and sent him to the court which awarded punishment of 20 years of rigorous imprisonment.

Another reason of homicide is black magic. The person suspected to practice black magic is done away with. A case of homicide caused by black magic is given below.

Kunkani Kati, a native of Kirindul had a rother whose son was a victim of black magic. It was an act of fury for Kati who suspected Moss of the same village to have practised black magic on his nephew. While, the dead body of the victim was carried to the cremation ground Kati got angry, ran with an axe towards Moss and hacked him to death. The Kotwar informed the police who arrested the culprit and sent him to the court which sentenced him for two years of rigorous imprisonment.

As pointed out earlier the Muria² by nature have little knack for carrying on agriculture in the proper manner. Their interest lies more in the possession of land and cattle in bulk and not in their development and utilization. As the Bailadila project has acquired a large extent of land in this village, 18 families have been rendered landless and in the remaining 25 families the size of land holding has shrunk considerably. Average size of landholding per family is 7.44 acres the per capita landholding is only 1.07 acres. Formerly, they possessed much more than what they hold today.

A case of transfer of land is presented below showing under which circumstances it was done and with what consequences. The local officials such as forest guards were the first to know about the proposal of the establishment of the mining project at Kirindul. Being clever enough they had purchased land from the tribal people before the mining complex was installed and got them recorded in their name. These lands fetched huge amount of money to them as compensation when they were acquired for the purpose of the mining project. A typical case is given below.

The forest guard of the village who belongs to the Halba tribe purchased 4½ acres of land from Kirti Pandru, a Muria of Kirindul at Rs. 300 and got the land registered in his name. After a few years the railway department acquired this land for constructing staff quarters and paid compensation of Rs. 7,000 to the forest guard. The original owner of the land came to know about it and represented the matter to the Collector to get back his land but of no avail as there was not legal lacunae in the transfer.

It has been stated earlier that the yield from the land has diminished for a variety of reasons of which the lack of interest in agriculture and the shrinkage of the land holding size are

most important. The loss of the agricultural income is not compensated by the income from the mining labour. The analysis shows that only 23.44 per cent of the males and 17.44 per cent of females are in mining labour, and only one man has been absorbed as Peon in the Bailadila project. A man gets a daily wage of Rs. 2.00 to Rs. 2.50 and a woman gets Rs. 1.50 to Rs. 2.00 for labour either agricultural or mining. This explains why the economic condition of the Muria in general is bad. The economic shortcoming is reflected in the deficit of food among them. The calculation of the food supply shows that they face a deficit of food for 153 days in a year. It is surprising to meet with squalor and poverty in Kirindul into which both entrepreneurial skill and capital keep flowing for a decade or so now. Why is this saddest story of the inhabitants of Kirindul which has come on the map of National Mineral Development Corporation of India as the largest mechanized Iron Ore Mine in Asia?

Since its neighbouring village Kirindul presents a subsistence economy. Dried maize continues to be the primitive money. Forest was playing an important part in their life, minor forest produce being exchanged for daily requirements such as salt and cloth. But with the introduction of mining complex the forest of the Bailadila hills was cut and cleared to drill and blast the ore body and build the township for the employees of the complex. Forests and shoots which supplemented their food, bamboo and bark which provided them with shelter and comfort are considerably depleted in the process of clearing and levelling the area for mining purposes. The growth of population, depletion of forest resources, acquisition of the cultivable lands and pollution of drinking water and sudden confrontation with the numberless immigrants are among the most important causes of their poverty and discontent.

The infiltration of the outsiders in thousands to Bailadila led to illegal sexual unions between the immigrants and local tribal women. Hundreds of tribal girls were seduced by the newcomers and were led astray. Those who gave birth to illegitimate children were thrown out of their society, and a fondling home was necessary to rehabilitate such women, and their children. Thus the problem became very serious. The district administration stepped forward to control such illegal unions, took

action against the culprits, settled marriages wherever possible between persons involved in such unions.

The authorities conducted intensive investigations about this matter in the township of Balladila and brought the detected cases to the tribal circuit councils for final settlements. The significant outcome of this administrative efforts was mass marriages between the tribal girls and the non-tribals which were performed in the Vedic way in the presence of the tribal council and were simultaneously registered in the registration office specially set up in the circuit camps.

One gets an impression that the non-tribals are the mischief mongers and the tribals are innocent. The non-tribals seduced the tribal girls who could not resist such temptations owing to their simplicity and economic backwardness. But the analysis of the situation shows that the newcomers who came to Balladila leaving their families at home found the young tribal girls readily agreeable to serve them in their domestic works. In a few days intimate relationship was established between them. Money and luxurious goods like modern dress and cosmetics which the mining society placed within easy reach of the tribal women, accelerated such intimacy leading to sexual union. Thus the tribal girls who were appointed as maid-servants became bed mates. Some of the tribal girls who were already married preferred the newcomers to their tribal husbands as their life companions, because the former satisfied their craving for cosmetics, modern dresses, monetary needs and the urban comforts and pleasure. An interesting case of this nature is cited below.

A married Muria girl was the maid servant in the house of a worker of the NMDC at Balladila. She was getting Rs. 30 per month besides free food and clothes from her employer. In a few days sexual intimacy was developed between them and to please her master she changed her tribal dress and donned herself in the modern dress which consisted of a petty coat, breast tight blouse and nylon saree. She uttered the tribal style of hair bun and wore her hair long. As she was drawn more towards the urban way of life she started hating her tribal husband. During our visit to Kirindul we interviewed her to know something about her life. What was

her opinion about her tribal husband is quoted below:—

"He is a tribal boy and looks ugly. My parents got me married to him when I was a minor and was not in a position to decide for myself which is good and which is bad.

I do not like to live with a man who is uncivilized. I want to lead an independent life. Moreover, he do not earn anything as I do and only wonders about in the forest like a beast. He wants to share my income which I earn by the sweat of my brow. He drinks and it is no surprise that he will spend all my money in drinking if I live with him."

There are many tribal girls of her type at Kirindul who are in the grip of the urban influence and who expressed strong distaste for tribal way of life. All these observations in Kirindul cropped up three questions. Why did not the local Murias exploit the opportunities of employment in the mining project as the outsiders did? Are all the evils which caused moral and social degradation the inevitable consequences of confrontation and industrialization? If so, is it possible to check and control them by proper social engineering and planning?

The tribal mining or industrial labour is found in two types of situations: (1) Where the tribes have left their original habitation and have come down to far-away mining or industrial centres located in the non-tribal or tribal areas, and (2) Where the mineral deposits are located in the tribal areas and the local tribal people are involved in and influenced by the process of exploitation of these deposits. Kirindul conforms to the second type of situation. The mining operation is taking place right in their door step. But we find limited participation of the local tribal people in the mining system.

Formerly, the Muria were living in a world of their own. Now a new world, that of the mining complex, is added to their old one. The existing situation is such that they are not full members of either. The new world has encroached upon the economic, social, religious and aesthetic aspects of their life. They have been trying to adjust themselves to this encroachment. For instance, some of the non-tribals working in the mining complex have kept cows and buffaloes to get their own requirements of milk. The Muria women supply grass for their cows. They also supply firewood to those and earn something from these sources. In many houses the Muria girls are serving as water carriers. These are

some of the fringe benefits which the Muria are deriving. It must be noted that the contact which the Muria have with this new world is not with its technology but with the new comers who operate this technology. The reason for this selective contact is very simple. The nature of services which they render in the families of the immigrants is easier for them to do whereas the nature of the works which the mining technology requires of them is technical expertise which they lack. This explains when they find it difficult to participate in the mining operation. Nevertheless, they are undergoing a process of alienation from their tribal world by the very existence of the mining complex in their own village. But owing to their primitive condition and lack of technological knowledge the extent of alienation is not such as would allow them to become completely integrated in the mining system. This dual membership which represents half of their mind in their own world and the other half in that of the mining complex—has been generating mental unrest and tension resulting in serious consequence for their commitment to either of the worlds. They are in a fix and their life is undergoing a crisis of choice and values.

Any establishment of mining or industrial enterprises offers certain new opportunities to the tribal people. These opportunities lie outside their social and cultural system. Any participation of the tribal people in taking advantage of these opportunities require a preparedness in knowledge and psychology so that they draw themselves out of their system and get themselves integrated in the new system without much stress and resistance.

The Kirindal example shows that some people exploit the opportunities and others have come to Kirindal from very far away off places to work in the mines whereas the Muria of the locality continue to practise the primitive agriculture and have no substantial participation in the mining complex. The observation of the nature of work which the tribal people do in the mining setting suggests that there is selectivity in regard to the exploitation of opportunities, viz. a particular ethnic unit likes to exploit a particular opportunity and other ethnic unit another type of opportunity. For instance, the float ore pebbles are found in abundance in the Bailadila area. The local Muria evince a great interest in manual mining and collecting them and transporting them to the weighing yard. The work of manual mining and picking is in keeping with their past experience

and when they find that it has the prospect of substantial income from this source they exploit this opportunity on a co-operative basis.

The co-operative organisation by means of which they exploit the opportunity of manual mining of float ore is an essential part of their cultural milieu and social system. They accomplish most of their economic activities by co-operative means. For example, if anyone in a Muria village needs labourers to do some work in his field he informs it in the village meeting. On the appointed day the villagers get together and report in the field of person who needed them. In return for their labour the man gives a goat which they use in a common feast and share the food. The general pattern is of work in the tribal communities is that particular ethnic communities exploit selected opportunities and this selection is based on their past experience and social and cultural system. It implies therefore that not all social institutions of a particular cultural milieu and social system are functional to the effective participation of the tribal communities of that system in the mining setting. Certain institutions are dysfunctional and certain other institutions are non-functional so far as their participation in the mining activities are considered. Therefore before commissioning any mining or industrial project in any tribal area a knowledge about the ethnic composition, socio-economic characteristics of the ethnic units inhabiting the area and the functional implications of the various institutions of these tribal social systems is pre-requisite, because on this the formulation of policies on a sound basis and planning strategies for commitment of the tribal communities to the mining or industrial discipline depend.

BANDA

Banda is situated at a distance of 178 Kms. from Jagadelpur, the district head quarters and 10 kms. from Konta, the Tahsil headquarters. It is situated out of the way place in the thick forest of Konta Tahsil and is difficult of access. The Kacha forest road which connects it with Konta town is cut at several places by the hill streams making it useless for any vehicular traffic in rainy season.

There are 45 households of which 40 households belong to the Dorla tribe, two of Labars who are regarded as tribal communities in Bastar and one of Gond tribe and the remaining two households are of the village level worker and

the forest guard. The total population of the village is 212 of which 192 are tribals and the remaining 20 are non-tribals.

The Village has two clusters of households one on either side of the hill stream which is the main source of water supply for the village. Each house has its own compound which is fenced all round and is constructed with the materials such as stone and timber which are locally available. The houses are stretched with grass.

Though Banda is situated in the dense reserve forest, it is a revenue village and not a forest village. It means that it is directly under the control of the revenue department not forest department which has jurisdiction over the forest villages. The main occupation of the Doris of the village is agriculture, in the sense that most people are employed in this occupation. But the income from the forest labour and business in charcoal is more than that from agriculture. The average annual income of a family from agriculture is Rs. 262/ where as it is Rs. 373/ from forest labour. The average family size among the Doris of Banda is 5 and the per capita annual income is Rs. 180/.

The extent of land which is in the possession of the Doris is 216 acres of which only 163 acres, that is, 76 per cent are under cultivation. Per acre average gross yields of paddy is as low as 114 kgs. The low yield is due to the primitive method of cultivation and little attention paid to the land for its improvement.

The Doris supplement their income from land by working in forest labour and construction of roads. There are many charcoal kilns in and around the village and the Doris find employment as daily labourers in these kilns. Those who have carts get chance to transport charcoal to Konda and for cartage each trip they earn Rs. 10/. Though the village is situated in the thick forest, the people do not earn much from the forest produce and business in timber. The average annual income of a family from the forest produce is only Rs. 88/ and from other sources concerning forest labour, business in fuel, etc, Rs. 150/. The income from all the primary and secondary sectors is inadequate to meet the required amount of food. The analysis of the food supply shows a great food gap. In a year the people face the deficit of food for 144 days. The

results of this food gap is malnutrition, reduced disease resistance, and retarded growth and low work habits.

The stringent forest rules which have restricted the freedom of the tribals of Banda over forest have cut down their food supply and affected their whole life and culture to a large extent. The forest had a central place in the life of the tribals. It not only provided myths and legends which enriched their aesthetic life, but also fruits, roots, tubers and leaves which enriched their nutritive content of their diets. They used to hunt animals freely in the forest and met their protein requirements. The hill streams also provided them with fish which is one of their most favourable form of food. They tapped toddy from the palm trees and brew their own liquor from the molva flower which the forest provided to them in abundance. The forest provided grazing ground for their cattle and timber which is necessary for the construction of their houses. The tribals were at liberty to collect forest produce such as wax, nut vomica, samarind, marking nuts and honey which fetched them money with which to buy their daily necessities. Thus we find that the forest satisfied the basic needs of food, drink, and shelter, and therefore there was no cause of anxiety and unrest.

But with the imposition of the new forest policy the rights of the tribals in forest have been reduced to mere concessions only.

Under the present legal restrictions they can not draw anything from the forest either for home consumption or for commercial purpose without taking permission of the forest authorities and payment of royalties. As there are restrictions in regard to the number and size of the timber the tribals can no longer indiscriminately cut them or meet their requirements. Even the number of cattle that a tribal family may freely graze in the forest is restricted. It has made it very difficult for the tribals to keep a large number of cattle to which they are habituated. The tribals find it very difficult to understand the utilitarian aspects of these regulations and as they are in the midst of the forest which is vitally linked with all aspects of their life they are unable to observe these restrictions. We have several cases of breach of the forest rules by the tribals of Banda for which they were severely punished by the forest authorities. A situation of this nature in which the tribals have to exploit the forest thereby committing offence

and the forest authorities have to protect the national wealth as per rules, has led to conflict between the tribals and forest authorities and loss of life and property on both sides.

NAKULNAR

Nakulnar is situated at a distance of 25 Kms. from the tahsil headquarters at Dantewara. The village is divided into two settlements—Murāpara of 58 Muriā households of 421 people and Thakurpara of 27 non-tribal households of 130 people. The Muriā constitute 75.4 per cent and the non-tribal people of which the Thakurs are numerically preponderant constitute 23.5 per cent of the total population of the village.

The Muriāpara is homogeneous whereas the Thakurpara is heterogeneous, having the Thakurs as the dominant caste and the Barber, the Melba, the Muslim, the Kalar and the Brahmin as minor castes. The Thakurs migrated from outside the state and selected in this village to carry on business and trade in forest produce and timber. In course of their stay they acquired land in the village and also in the neighbouring villages by purchase and reclamation of waste land and took to agriculture in addition to business. They expanded their landed property by alienating land from the tribals of the village. A case showing how the land belonging to the Muriā has passed on to the hands of the Thakurs is given below.

25 years back one Shaik Aboob of Kuru village of Bijapur Tahsil came to Nakulnar to carry on business in forest produce. During his stay in the village he requested the village headman to give him some land to cultivate. The village headman gave him 12 acres of land which he cultivated for 10 years. Shaik Aboob managed to get the land recorded in his name in connivance with the village Patwari.

After some years Shaik Aboob had to leave the village and go to his native place. He surrendered the land to the village headman who started cultivating the land, and during the land survey and settlement which followed he got the land recorded in his name.

Meanwhile, Shaik Aboob came to know about the land survey and settlement and visited the village. He contacted Devananda Singh, a Thakur of the village and sold him the land at Rs. 800 on the strength of the old patta which was issued to him by the village

Patwari. Devananda Singh paid Rs. 500 to Shaik Aboob at the time of the negotiation and told him to pay the balance of Rs. 300 at the time of registration. The village headman came to know about this transaction and represented the matter in the court of the Collector who gave decree in favour of the village headman.

The village headman was in cultivating possession of the land. But Devananda Singh threatened him that he had purchased the land from Shaik Aboob and the land belonged to him. In case he encroached up on his land he would be shot dead. Being afraid of Devananda Singh the village headman could not cultivate the land and the land is now under the cultivation of Devananda Singh.

Of the total cultivable land of 1501.21 acres the tribal people possess 1269.47 acres and the non-tribal people 241.74 acres. During our study of the village it is found that 47.81 per cent of the land owned by the tribal people and 87.49 per cent of the land owned by the Thakurs were lying fallow. The reason for this in the case of the tribal people was their poverty and lack of necessary tools and materials required for cultivation. But in the case of Thakurs they are not as much interested in developing their land as they are in improving business and trade, and therefore they do not bother much to put all the land they have under cultivation.

Of the 58 Muriā families, 12 families (20.69 per cent) are landless and they eke out their living by wage earning. 37 families have land which varies from 10 acres to 20 acres and above, and the remaining 9 families own 1 acre to less than 10 acres of land. Though the majority of the Muriā are large land owners and per capita land holding works out at 3.05 acres, but their economic condition is not good. It shows that mere holding of land in bulk does not provide sufficient incentive for improving agricultural practice. Facilities such as water for irrigation, money for purchasing fertiliser, and pesticides, and the technical help must be available to the tribal people in time to improve their agriculture. But what is most needed is a change in their cultural heritage and habit which are a hindrance to the application of intensive efforts to their agricultural activities.

That the agriculture is underdeveloped is evident from the low yield from the land. The Muriā get on an average 104-141 Kgs. of paddy

per acre of land. The yield is also low in the case of cereals and millets. The other sources of income which supplement the income from land are agricultural labour and forest produce. But the income from the primary and also from the secondary sectors are so meagre that in terms of cash the annual income of a family does not exceed Rs. 1,100/-. The per capita average annual income comes to Rs. 154 pp. As a result, the Maria suffer from great scarcity of food. Our calculation shows that the Maria of Nakulani find deficit of food for 175 days in a year. The shortage and deficiency of food is reflected in their malnutrition, low work habits and heavy indebtedness.

THE RULER AND THE TRIBES OF BASTAR

Before merger in the Indian Republic on 1st January 1948 Bastar was a Native state ruled by the royal family of Kakotiya dynasty which claims its origin from Warangal, now a district of Andhra Pradesh. It is the biggest district of Madhya Pradesh covering 39,171 Sq. Km. as its area. It is the third largest district in the country and is little bigger than Kerala State.

Bastar is the epitome of a variety of tribal communities, which constitute 72.2 per cent of the total population of the district. The scheduled tribes which are numerically important are : Maria (310,675), Gond (235,265), Maria (104,801), Bhatra (77,226), Halba (40,168), Dhurwa (38,599) and Dorla (21,382). As the tribes of Bastar are varied culturally and are in different stages of socio-economic development it would be appropriate to briefly describe those which are important among them.

The Hill Maria : They live in the Abujmar mountains, the terracognita of Bastar district. The region extends over three Tahsils—Narayanpur, Bijapur and Dantewara. Owing to the inaccessibility of the habitat the Hill Maria are least influenced by the outside world and have retained most of their religious and cultural institutions. They cultivate the hills with the axe and their villages are shifting in nature. The Hill Maria are the most primitive and wild tribe of the district, and are not under any Government control except their own. They are honest, generous, cheerful and contended. They are loyal and faithful to the Raja of Bastar.

The Bison—Horn Maria : They live south of the Indrawati river in Dantewara, Korta, Jagdalpur and Bijapur Tahsils. They are called as such

because of the characteristic headdress of bison-horns which they use during their dance. Their mainstay is shifting cultivation. The incidence of murder and suicide is very high among the Bison-horn Maria. Elwin has reported that there were 106 cases of murder and 53 cases of suicide in 1954. He also found out a seasonal variation in Maria murder and suicide. For murder he found a definite increase in the hottest months of the year, that is, April and May, and also in September and October which are equally hot and enervating. In the case of the suicide he observed that a large number of suicide takes place in July and August which are filled with heavy and strenuous field works and are the months of acute food scarcity.

The Maria : The Maria of the district can be divided into three groups. (1) Raja Maria or Jagadalpur Maria whose habitat extends beyond Bhanpuri in the north, Chitrakoot waterfalls in the west, Dargha in the south and upto the Orissa border from Jagadalpur in the east. (2) Jhoria Maria who are probably Hill Marias settled in the plains and live mixed with the Maria. (3) The Ghotul Maria whose tract is confined to Narayanpur and Kondagaon Tahsils. These Marias are distinguished from the other two divisions by their Ghotul system, that is, the dormitory for the young unmarried boys and girls who spend the night together there and learn the civic virtues, hospitality and traditions and customs of their community. The Ghotul is the training centre which imparts instructions in sex, ethos, mores and traditions of their community. It has an important role to play in perpetuating the discritical marks of the community and its cultural identity.

These tribes of Bastar have a strong cephalous political structure of which the ruler of Bastar, who is also the chief priest of goddess Danteswari, the presiding deity of the tribes, is regarded as the political head. At the lowest level each village has a panchayat which consists of a group of officials. The secular head of the panchayat is called Pedda who has an assistant headman called Pina Pedda or Kandko. There is a commander who is known as Kotwar. He assists the headmen in discharging their duties. The officials also include Bhumpats or the chief priest, or Waddey and Sirha or the medicine man.

The posts of these officials are hereditary and the rule of primogeniture operates in succession. In case the posts of the headmen and the priest

fall vacant by death and there is no heir to succeed, the community chooses from their respective families the right persons having special knowledge and competence to hold such posts. The headman hears disputes among the villagers and decides them in consultation with the elders of the village and gives judgments which the parties concerned obey.

Towards the remuneration for his service the village headman enjoys some land rent-free in addition to 1/6th of the land revenue collected from the village. The Kotwar who assists the headman in collecting the revenue also enjoys some land rent-free besides the Pay of Rs.45/- per mensem. He keeps the records of births and deaths which occur in his village and reports the same to the police. The priest of the village is responsible to propitiate the village deities and presides over all festivals held in the village. The medicine man is expected to drive away the evil spirits and keep off the diseases which are caused by their spirits and keep the villagers physically fit.

On the whole the village panchayat performs administrative, legislative, judicial and religious functions. In the past the village panchayat was more effective in its activities. But owing to the impact of the modern times and change in administrative set up from feudalism to democratic decentralisation, the traditional village panchayat has been weakened and many of its functions have been minimised to a large extent. The authority which the village panchayat used to exercise in civil as well as in criminal matters during the feudal order has been the cause of discontent among the tribal communities.

The next higher organisation is the Pargana Panchayat. Each Pargana consists of a group of villages ranging from 5 to 10 villages depending upon the size of the villages. It was the next higher administrative unit during the erstwhile Bastar State. Each Pargana panchayat consists of a Manjhi who is the chief of the Pargana and the headman of the villages which form a pargana. The Manjhi has an assistant who helps him in discharging his duties.

The Manjhi is responsible for levying and collecting land revenue from the villages included in his jurisdiction through the help of the village headmen. The other duties which the Manjhi performs are to maintain law and order in his Pargana, provide food and accommodation to the officers during their tour in his Pargana.

Inform the village headmen about all information received from the administrative headquarters, represent the grievances of the people of his Pargana to the ruler of Bastar. Besides these secular duties, the Manjhi performs many religious activities. He has to raise substantial donations from the villages within his jurisdiction for the performance of the Dashera festival every year at Jagdalpur and gives the amount to the managing committee of this festival. The Manjhis of the different Parganas constitute this committee and render all assistance to the ruler of Bastar in the celebration of this festival. A short account of this festival is given below as it is the most important festival observed jointly by the tribal people and the ruler of Bastar. The festival reveals the tribe-ruler relationship and in what depth this intimacy between them exists.

Dashera festival in Bastar: A new chariot of wood is required in this festival. This chariot is made by the tribes of Jannor and Barwar villages. The woods which are required for the construction of the chariot are supplied by the tribes of Kochanapatti and Amdapatti villages. The tribes start bringing the woods to Jagdalpur from the month of July that is three months before the festival which takes place in the month of October. As soon as the woods are available, the tribes start building the chariot. The ruler of Bastar provides ration to the tribes who supply the wood and construct the chariot.

The Manjhis raise donations from their respective parganas. Each village contributes one goat, one pig, Rs. 2—10 in cash, and 10 kgs. of rice. The Manjhi offers 1/4th of this contribution to the Mata-Devata, the Pargana goddess and gives over the remaining 3/4th of the donation to the managing committee of the festival. The Committee is constituted by a few selected Manjhis. But all Manjhis get chance in rotation to be the members of the committee. As the work starts three months in advance and the tribes from different villages start coming to Jagdalpur much in advance of the festival, the Manjhis form the committee three months in advance and look after the preliminary works and take care of the visiting tribes by way of providing them with food and shelter. The members of the committee kept the ruler informed of the progress of work, and the amount contributed by the tribes of different Parganas and any difficulties faced by them.

The festival lasts for 16 days :

On the first day of the festival two unmarried tribal girls lying on the throne give to the ruler two garlands of flower which is symbolic of awarding divine sanction to the ruler to go ahead with the festival.

From the next day for 9 days a tribal mendicant observes fast and meditates at the temple called Seerasara at Jagadelpur. From the following day for 7 days the ruler visits the goddess Danteswari at the gate of the fort of Jagadelpur and brings out the umbrella which adorns the goddess and with it sits on the chariot. The tribes assembled there, pull the chariot and circumbulate the religious places of the town and returns to the temple of Danteswari where the ruler alights from the chariot with the divine umbrella and replaces it in its original place in the temple. This procedure is repeated everyday for the following 7 days.

There is another temple of Danteswari at Danteswara, which is 85 Km. from Jagadelpur. The tribes of Danteswara tahsil reach Jagadelpur on the 10th day of the festival with the divine umbrella of Danteswari of Danteswara. They come all the way by walking and it takes them three days to cover the distance. As soon as the team carrying the palanquin in which the divine umbrella is held, reaches the Hanuman gate at the outskirts of Jagadelpur soon the ruler who waits there offers prayer to the umbrella which symbolizes the Danteswari of Danteswara and carries the Palanquin. Others who carry the Palanquin with the ruler are the priests of the ruler and two Marjhias of Jagadelpur and neighbouring parganas. On reaching the temple of Danteswari at Jagadelpur the ruler takes out the umbrella from the palanquin and installs it in the temple. The umbrellas of the presiding deities of different parganas which are brought this day by the tribes to Jagadelpur are also kept by the side of the two main umbrellas of Danteswari of Jagadelpur and Danteswara.

Next day the ruler fixes the umbrella of Danteswari of Danteswara on an altar upon the back of an elephant and install the umbrella of Danteswari of Jagadelpur in the chariot and sits by its side. Then the assembled tribes, police and other officials salute the ruler and the umbrellas. Thereafter the elephant moves forward and the tribes follow it with the chariot. They visit different temples and the religious

centres in the town and pay homage to the presiding deities in such places. Then the procession returns to the Danteswari temple where the ruler alights from the chariot with the umbrellas and carries both the umbrellas into the temple and installs them on the altar prepared for that purpose.

Next day the ruler holding the two umbrellas goes in a procession to a village called Kundakot which is at a distance of $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Jagadelpur, and installs them in the chariot which was pulled to this village by the tribes of Kilpal village the previous night. The ruler sits by the side of the umbrellas. After offering salute and homage to the ruler and the umbrellas the tribes assembled there pull the chariot and bring it to the Danteswari temple of Jagadelpur. On reaching the temple the ruler alights from the chariot with the umbrellas and places them on the sacred altar in the temple. Thereafter, the ruler walks to his place and the tribes follow him. The ruler and tribes observe together at the palace the new rice eating ceremony (Nukhia). The people all over Bastar observe this ceremony on this day.

Next day the darbar of the tribes is held in the palace. The ruler presides over the darbar and the assembled tribes offer presents in cash and kind to the ruler. The tribes put forward their grievances to the ruler who attends to them and devise steps to redress them. He takes many policy decisions regarding the administration of the state and the rules and regulations of land and forest in consultation with the Marjhias and the common tribes and passes necessary orders to execute them properly. In this occasion the ruler bestows new turbans on the Marjhias in recognition of their Marjhiaship and wish them a prosperous and happy life.

The following day the tribes take back the umbrellas of presiding deities of their respective Parganas and leave Jagadelpur for their respective villages. On the same day the ruler also makes necessary arrangements for the return journey of the tribes of Danteswara. After a small ceremony held at the Danteswari temple the ruler hands them over the umbrellas of Danteswari and gives them a ceremonial send off. The parting is emotional and pathetic. The ruler gives the term Rs. 100 in cash, $1\frac{1}{2}$ gals of rice and 3 goats towards their food during their three day journey to Danteswara.

The Dashara festival reveals that the ruler-tribe relationship was not only administrative but it was also mythic, symbolic and ritualistic. The relationship between the ruler and the tribes is most intimate and close. Another feature of the tribe-ruler relationship is the institution of Manjhisip which is well established in the political organisation of the tribes of Bastar under the patronage of the feudal order. The Dashara festival, is not only a ritual activity of the tribes and the ruler of Bastar, but it serves also as a political activity of both parties, the ruler and the ruled. It offers the opportunity to the tribes to pay their homage to the ruler as the chief priest of Danteswari who is their supreme deity and at the same time reinforces and stabilises the institution of Manjhisip of which the ruler is the political head.

Bastar was more or less peaceful during the feudal regime except, of course, occasional tribal uprising as a result of rivalry disputes and quarrels between the claimants to the rulership. In 1885 there was a tribal revolt of this nature and the then Raja Bhairam Deo was deposed and the State passed into the British hands in 1891. Thereafter the situation in Bastar went from bad to worse. The British India police rules, the criminal and civil procedures which dispensed with the traditional village panchayat courts, the laws of evidence and limitation, abnoxious forest laws, rack-renting of the non-tribal intermediaries and other corrupt and tyrannical practices were galling and tormenting to the tribal communities. As this distressing condition went on unchecked and the authorities paid no heed to redress the grievances the discontent of the tribal communities which was smouldering took a serious turn resulting in wide spread tribal rebellion in 1911. The typical way by which the appeals of the tribal leaders were communicated to every lock and corner of Bastar was by means of circulating chilies, bows and arrows, spears and mango-branches among the fellow tribesmen. The devastations which were caused to the life and property of the tribes and the acts of rape and abduction which were committed by the troops during the 1911 rebellion are still fresh in the memory of the old Sidans, and Palebas of many Ghoslas and the Maghis of many Parganas.

The last ruler of Bastar was Pravin Chandra Bhanja Deo who was installed as the ruling chief of the State in 1947 when he was hardly eighteen. He was as dear as life to the tribes because he was the hereditary ruler of an ancient royal family, the chief priest of the Danteswari, the presiding deity of both the tribes and the ruling family and the source of financial help which he extended to the tribes in the most liberal manner. He used to adorn himself with orange robes, put on vermilion in his forehead, and have flowing hair and an impressive look. The tribes treated him as a sadhu or hermit and were full of admiration for his practice of squandering to his tribal followers hundred rupee currency notes.

As other princely states were integrated in the Indian Union after independence Bastar met with the same fate. Pravin Chandra had to merge his state in the Indian Union on 1st January 1948 and the same year it became one of the districts of Madhya Pradesh. After he lost his kingdom and royal power Pravin Chandra naturally felt most unhappy and regretted the merger to which he thought he thoughtlessly consented. Being the high priest of Danteswari who is the supreme deity of the royal family and the tribes of Bastar, and respected and honoured by millions of tribal followers as their divine king Pravin Chandra planned to avail himself of every opportunity to his advantage by utilising his relationship with them.

He started his agitation against the Government and he solicited the support of the tribes in his favour. He threatened to take away Danteswari and leave Bastar unless the tribes put their fight against the Government for the restoration of his State and power. His inflammatory speeches aroused the flagging interest of the highly emotional tribes who turned Bastar into a rising giant.

To annul all efforts of Pravin Chandra and in order to wean the tribes away from his influence, the Government introduced the *Adimajhiya* and *Pargana Panchayats* in Bastar in parallel to the traditional village panchayats and Manjhi system. Under the provisions of Chapter VI of the C. P. and Berar Panchayats Act, 1946, the Government of Madhya Pradesh was empowered to establish *Adimajhiya Panchayat* for a village or group of villages.

Such a Panchayat is composed of elected panches and a Sarpanch nominated by the Government. The Collector of Bastar is authorised to remove a Sarpanch or a panch for corruption, neglect of duty, continued absence from meetings, moral turpitude and may appoint the successor of the person so removed.

The Adimajatiya Panchayats are empowered to exercise such criminal and civil jurisdiction as may be prescribed by the State Government. An Adimajatiya Panchayat has power to try and determine suit not exceeding Rs. 50-00 in value. It may impose a fine not exceeding Rs. 25 in criminal cases. Any decision of the Adimajatiya Panchayat is appealable to the Pargana Panchayat which is constituted under this Act.

A Pargana Panchayat is constituted for a group of Adimajatiya Panchayats. It consists of a Sarpanch and four panches who are all nominated by the State Government. The order passed by the Pargana Panchayat on any appeal against the decision of an Adimajatiya panchayat shall not be appealable but a revision application could be filed to the Collector and decision thereon shall be final.

At the time of research there were 1,015 Adimajatiya Panchayats and 214 Pargana Panchayats functioning in Bastar. Although the Panchayats are in the field for more than a decade, now they have failed to enlist the co-operation of the tribal people. A few important reasons for this have been listed below.

1. The tribal people had in each village their traditional councils which were active and functioning well. The introduction of the Adimajatiya Panchayat at the village level by the Government was a threat to the old political institution of the village and the tribal people immediately sensed that the introduction of the Adimajatiya Panchayat was meant to supplant their village council. They resented this act of the Government.

2. The traditional village council was composed of members belonging to the tribal communities. Naturally it served best to preserve the tribal customs and values. But in Adimajatiya Panchayats the non-tribals also became the members particularly in the villages which are ethnically heterogeneous. In some cases the non-tribals became the Sarpanchs

of such Panchayats. This arrangement curtailed the chances of referring any case to the Panchayat by the tribals.

3. The traditional council consists of both secular and sacred headmen of the village, whom the tribal people follow in all matters because of their knowledge about the tribal life and culture and the role which they play in their socio-religious life. But in the Adimajatiya Panchayat they may not have any position. Therefore, they have no regard for such panchayats.

4. The traditional council is being headed by the village headmen who presides over the meetings and conducts all business of the meeting and proclaims the final judgements in any dispute. But in the new Panchayat, the Government could not nominate the headmen, as he is a Government servant. Hence the headman looks to the new panchayat with contempt.

5. The Government have proscribed a lengthy and complicated procedure to be followed by the new panchayat besides charging a fee for filing any complaint in the panchayat for adjudication. The tribal people look upon these practices as queer and strange.

6. The tribal people have no say in the matter of selection of members of the Adimajatiya Panchayat. Naturally in many cases the members of which constitute the panchayat may not be of their choice, because they are selected according to the choice of the Government, and the criteria of selection followed by the Government are not the same as those of the tribal people. Naturally the participation of the tribal people in the new panchayat is handicapped.

7. Last but not the least in any sense is that the traditional council imposes fine in kind which is utilised by the village community in a feast. But the new panchayat levies fine in case which is deposited in the office of the Tahsil. It gives an impression to the tribal people that the new political system is more beneficial to the Government than to themselves.

Under these circumstances the tribal peoples feel that the Adimajatiya panchayat has been designed to supplant their traditional village councils rather than supplement them. Hence they evince no interest in the new panchayat. It is no exaggeration to say that the tribal people have referred not even a single case to the new

panchayat any where in the study villages. Our discussions with the panchayat officials at the district level reveals that the same trend exists throughout Bastar.

What has been said about in Adimajatiya Panchayat also applies to the Pargana Panchayat as well. But something more is to be mentioned here as this panchayat is created with an ulterior motive of weaning the tribal leaders away from the Raja of Bastar. As pointed out earlier the Raja continues to command the same respect and loyalty from the Raja Manjhis as before. This fact has become a headache to the ruling party which despite of its best efforts could not get its candidates elected to the Assembly. The ruling party therefore planned to make dissension among the tribal people by patronising certain tribal leaders with the introduction of Adimajatiya and Pargana panchayats. But its hopes have been shattered as the feudal chief continues to enjoy the same confidence of the tribal people as before. The Government nominated as pargana sarpanch and panchas, the Manjhis of their creation who support the congress party rather than the old Raja Manjhis who continue to show their loyalty and respect to the Raja of Bastar. Being left out of the pargana panchayat they lodged a complaint with the Raja who assured them his blessings and in recognition of their position as Raja Manjhis issued green turbans and other customary presents in a special ceremony held at the time of the Dasara festival. By this process the intimate relationship that exists between the Raja and the tribal leaders was strengthened and continued unchanged. The renewed bond of cohesion between the Raja and the Raja Manjhis created more problems than solving them for the ruling party which branded the Raja as a traitor.

At long last the prolonged hectic events reached its culmination on the 18th March 1966 when the tribes and the Raja Pravin chandra had an encounter with the State Police force. The result was that the Raja Pravin chandra was shot dead in his own fort and the rebel tribes were taken into custody and imprisoned for a period of 3 months. With the death of the Raja the loyalty of the tribal people to the feudal lord did not die out. They held the wife of the Raja with the same esteem and respect and loyalty as they did the Raja. Their faith on the Raja was so much deep rooted that they thought that the incarnation of the Raja

would soon take place. The emergence of Baba Behari Das is taken by the tribal people to be the emergence of the Raja and to have a Dasara of the Raja thousands and thousands of tribal people from every nook and corner of Bastar marched to the place where the particular Baba was residing.

As the activities of Baba Behari Das is of great political importance it is necessary to give a brief account of him and the nature of his activities and his hold on the tribes of Bastar.

Baba Behari Das

We have already stated that the tribals of Bastar had immense regard and respect for the late feudal chief Pravin chandra Banja Deo. They also felt that he was an incarnation of God. They had no regard for the Government. In fact, to them any Government other than the ruling chief was non-existent. That is why they did not ask for anything from the Government in form of roads, wells or schools. Rather they wished that the feudal chief should always be in their midst and the Government should restore his estate to him. Taking undue advantage of this situation some vested interests planned to cheat the tribal communities. As a part of their design they created an incarnation. This incarnation is Baba Behari Das. It is not known who is this Baba Behari Das and what is his past history. Even the extraneous efforts of police, and special Branch of C. I. D., have failed to throw any light on this man. To the interrogation of the police he said that he is a native of Ayodhya in U. P. State. But further inquiry revealed that it is not so. After the death of Pravin chandra Banja Deo, Baba Behari Das came to Bastar some time in the year 1957-58. He used to live in a temple situated in the forest near Chota-Donger village in Narsayanpur Tehsil. Gradually he came in close contact with some leading Manjhis who lived very close to the Raja Pravin chandra and were conversant with his manners and habits particularly with regard to his dress and speech. The most important among them are Kosari Manjhi of Itchapam (Muria), Balli of Chagka (Bhatia), Mangal manjhi of Pandripani (Muria), Piluram of Dongriguda (Bhatia) and Jedu Sendar Lal of Kaskal (Ex M.P.). After having support from the above guides and informants he put on the same kind of dress which Pravin chandra donned and in his talks, greetings, gestures and postures

he talked with Pravin chandra. He wore long hair and marked vermillion in the forehead as Pravin chandra did. In sum his identity with Pravin chandra was unmistakable.

The next step which he followed to fulfil his plan was to gather round him a group of devoted disciples of tribal origin and of Manjhi category and sent them out to different villages to communicate to the tribals the event of incarnation of Pravin chandra and the place of his abode in the forest of Chota Dargar and the temple therein.

The emissaries approached first the important tribal leaders who were very loyal to Pravin-chandra and reported to them his incarnation and his place of abode. These leaders got excited and were anxious to see him. The emissaries led them to a vantage point and from a distance they saw Pravin chandra moving about in the forest. They got excited and spread the news in their respective localities. Thus the people of Bastar, particularly the tribal people availed themselves of the earliest opportunity of having a glance at their beloved Raja Pravin chandra. Streams of tribals marched to Chota Dargar to have darshan of the Raja from a distance.

A couple of years passed by and the disguised Pravin chandra settled down in a village called Chapka which is 17 miles away from Jagadpur in the north. It is two miles away from Jagadpur-Raipur grand trunk road where the Mahashiva Ratri festival is held on a grand scale every year. It is the biggest festival in Bastar which lasts for 16 days. People from all parts of Bastar visit this pilgrim centre in large numbers. There is an old Shiva Temple and a bathing place where people take their bath on the Sivaratri and then visit the temple to offer their prayers. There is also a natural water fall and the landscape of the village is very picturesque indeed. It is in this village Baba Behari Das built his hut and has been living there with his disciples for the last 13 months.

Kosara Manjhi who is his senior and trusted disciple and who was also most devoted to the late Pravin chandra started again his propaganda that Raja Pravin chandra Banja Deo has not died but he is alive and is staying in his hut at Chapka. In the meantime Baba Behari Das started the villages in Bastar along with his associates like Kosara Manjhi and others. Prior to his visit to a particular village an intimation is sent to the villagers of that village saying that

on such and such day the Maharsia Pravin chandra Banja Deo would visit their village and this information should not be let out to any other village. The people of the village keep the information to themselves and never divulge it to any one else who does not belong to their village and eagerly wait for his visit. On receiving the news the people get excited and make appropriate arrangements such as erecting a pandal, fixing gates, decorating the village with leaves and flowers to receive him in the same manner as they used to do to him in the past. As soon as Baba Behari Das reaches the outskirts of the village, the men and women start singing and dancing in the accompaniment of music and the headman of the village begs to the Baba to proceed to the pandal where he is seated and after that flowers, coconut and honey are offered to him. The women wave lighted lamps and incense around him and the people of the whole village stand crowded around him.

Baba keeps strict silence. But the disciples who accompany him tell the crowd that the complexion of their Raja has become black because of the effects of bullets which the police shot at him. They take out the clothes from the body of the Baba to show them the bullet wounds and the scar marks. Before leaving the village his followers tell the villagers not to expose his visit to anyone else. The innocent tribal people abide by the instructions of the Baba most faithfully.

The tribal people do not divulge his visit in the public because they fear that if the Government comes to know about it then they would catch him and kill him. Thus the news that Pravin chandra Banja Deo is alive has spread like a camouflage throughout Bastar.

Thousands of tribal people from every nook and corner of Bastar started pouring in at Chapka to have a glimpse of the Baba and receive the sacred thread (Kanthi) which he was doling out to them. According to this practice the Baba was called as Kanthi Baba. In course of his stay at Chapka he declared that all fish in the streams would turn into white birds, fowls into snakes, goats into wild boars, and pigs into demons. He advised them not to keep them at home and not to eat them any more. His instructions spread far and wide, and the tribes everywhere in Bastar dispensed with these domesticated animals and abstained themselves from eating fish, mutton, chicken and pork. The tribal people who were sacred

thread dispensed with dogs and cats which they kept in their houses. He also asked those who wore sacred beads to plant a banyan tree in their village and worship it for 5 days and 5 nights. His advice to the ladies was to remove their bangles and stop wearing red saris. His instruction to the public was that each village should offer 10 Kgs. of rice, one new cloth, five rupees and one coconut to Baba at the time of their visit to Chapka for the purpose of offering prayer to him. Accordingly each village complied to the divine desire of the Baba. He informed all people that all the village deities have come to settle down with him at Chapka and therefore they need not offer any sacrifice or puja to them at their villages. He emphasized that every tribal should wear the sacred beads and he charged Rs. 1 from every head man of the family for giving him or her the sacred beads and 25 paise from other members of the family. The child in the womb was also not exempted from this fee which he charged for wearing the sacred beads. He instructed that every village goddess should be adorned with his sacred beads and the charges were Rs. 5 per village goddess.

He had forbidden those who wore sacred bead not to eat in the houses of those who had not worn such beads. Thus he created a dichotomy in society as sacred bead wearers (Kanthiwala) and non-wearers (beggar Kanthiwala). He instructed the Kanthiwala not to allow the non-Kanthiwala to draw and use water from the village well. A division of this kind has resulted in conflict and fighting between the Kanthiwala and non-Kanthiwala. Cases of murder have also taken place as a result of this conflict. We give below a few cases to show the social consequences emerging from the introduction of sacred beads.

Lakshman Patol is a non-Kanthiwala. He was forced by the Kanthiwala of his village to go to Chapka and wear Kanthi as given by the Baba. But he did not yield to the pressure of the public and as a consequence he is outcasted and is not allowed to use the village well.

In Kodanar village there arose a dispute between the Murias and the Halba. The Halba went to Chapka, got the sacred beads for the village goddess and tied it to her neck. The Muria of the village wanted in one occasion to sacrifice a goat before the goddess. After some how managing to get a goat which was

difficult to have because of the influence of the Baba they made all arrangements to sacrifice it before the village goddess. But the Halba of the village objected to it on the ground that they had already tied the sacred beads to the goddess and any sacrifice would be against the wishes of the Baba and the goddess would be polluted. The Murias did not listen to their words and attempted to sacrifice the goat. But the Halba obstructed them and in the process both the parties came to blows and were afterwards dragged to the police station to receive more beating from the police.

Rough estimates show that Baba Bahari Dea has earned not less than 7½ lakhs of rupees from the sole proceeds of the sacred beads and from the contributions of the tribal people. His close associates have also earned in thousands. Baba purchased a Jeep to move about. He opened a shop at Chapka of coconuts and other items of worship and the visitors purchased the items of offerings from this shop. This business added considerably to his income. The Baba and his associates have intimate relationship with the political leaders at the State and national level and seem to contemplate to contest the coming general election.

So far as the royal family is considered, two forces are in operation in favour and the other against the Baba. After Pravin chandra was shot dead his brother Vijaya chandra had accession to the throne against the wishes of the local tribal people who wanted Mrs. Vedavati. Pravin-chandra's wife to succeed him. But the Government was much against Vedavati for obvious reasons and got his brother Vijaya chandra ascended to the throne. Vijaya chandra died in the year 1972 and there arose a dispute between Vedavati and Hitendra Kumari. Vijaya chandra's wife regarding ownership of the royal property.

The enmity between these two widows was accentuated when the question of sitting in the chariot at the time of Dashera was discussed by the leading Manjhis.

As the tribal people are in favour of Vedavati they recognised her as the chief priest of Danteswari and therefore made her to sit in the chariot and preside over the function as her deceased husband used to do.

Being aggrieved, Hitendra Kumari took the help of Baba who accepted her as one of his disciples and informed the tribal people who

visited him not to attend the Dashara festival at Jagadalspur. To weaken the hold of Vedavati, what he further did was to organise a similar Dashara festival at Chapka and gave prominence to Hileandra Kumari in the festival. He further proclaimed that after 3 years 3 months and 3 days, the Raja Pravin Chandra would emerge in real shape and the following seven days would be turned into seven nights during which the fowls would be transformed into snakes and pigs into ghosts which would eat up all the non-Kathiwalas. He added that he was going on a pilgrimage and urged the public that they should all wear sacred beads before he goes on

pilgrimage otherwise, as he said the non-Kathiwalas would meet a variety of calamities and unnatural death.

The Government is shy to take any action against the Baba as some of the leading political leaders have some vested interest in this movement. They have a political axe to grind. They find that Baba is the best weapon by which to weaken the hold of Vedavati on the tribes of Bastar and catch political power which is now in the hands of Vedavati. The story of Baba Behari Das is nothing but a political game of the regional and national political leaders.

SUNDARGARH (ORISSA)

INTRODUCTION

Four villages in Sundargarh district, Orissa were studied. They are Jadakudar, Chutiatola, Lakhotola and Jaida, all included in Panposh subdivision of the district and lie within a radius of six miles from Rourkela Steel Plant. A new era in the Indian Steel Industry was heralded when the construction work on one of India's three first public sector Steel Plants at Rourkela, situated in Panposh subdivision of Sundargarh district, Orissa, started in October 1955. The transformation of Rourkela from a cluster of hamlets inhabited by the Adivasis to a modern industrial township is a symbol of the industrial transformation of independent India. Rourkela has the privilege of having one of Asia's most modern steel plants whose annual production is being increased from 1 million to 1.8 million tonnes steel ingots with technical co-operation and credit from the Federal Republic of Germany. Girdled by verdant hills and encircled by three rivers the modern steel township has come up at Rourkela where not long ago was an inhospitable thick forest teeming with wild life and inhabited by a variety of primitive tribes such as the Munda, the Oraon, the Bhuiya, the Bhumi and the Kharia. Spread over an area of 48 square kilometres, the township is divided into 20 sectors on the two sides of the beautiful two-way ring road. The giant steel works on one side of the hill range and the comfortable residential accommodation in picturesque setting, asphalt roads, adequate educational, medical and recreational facilities which are amply provided in the township on the other side of the hill range, is an unique symbol of Indo-German friendship, and stand as a master piece of industrial modernization in the midst of the area inhabited by the tribal communities who represent old stone age civilisation. Our objective of studying the villages around Rourkela Steel Plant was to get an idea of interaction between these two levels of socio-economic development and the social consequences resulting therefrom.

Rourkela provides a variety of ideal situations for studying the problems arising from the establishment of the steel plant in a tribal area. Many tribal villages have been displaced and many displaced tribal families have been rehabilitated in colonies. It is interesting to study the processes and problems of adjustment of the affected tribal families to the new surrounding and the new ways of life. We selected Jaida, one of the important rehabilitation centres to study this problem.

Most of the tribal communities are converted to Christianity. The tribal areas of Sundargarh district and the neighbouring Ranchi district are under the influence of Christianity of various denominations for over a century and a half now. For example, catholic missions and protestant missions are very strong in Rourkela area. The interest lies in the study the nature and receptivity of the converted tribes of both denominations to the industrial discipline. It is generally thought that Catholicism is very much traditionalistic in outlook and therefore the tribes who are catholics are likely to show little commitment to the industrial discipline and participation in the industrial complex for their economic development.

Contrasted to this the Protestants are in favour of modernism and are materialistic and therefore the tribes who are influenced by the Protestant ethics are likely to show great interest in industrial development and getting themselves absorbed in the industrial setting for their economic development.

The village Jadakudar was selected for having both catholic and protestant tribes, to find out the nature of the orientation towards the steel plant and the extent of their participation in the industrial complex for their economic development.

In the wake of the establishment of the steel plant, there was huge increase of population in Rourkela. The steel township consists of 18,000 quarters providing accommodation to

about one lakh people who are mostly outsiders. Besides, there are thousands of contractors, shopkeepers, and businessmen, with their workers in and around Rourkela. The steel plant has provided incentive to the interested farmers in the neighbourhood to grow crops and cereals and vegetables to meet the demands of the township and the workers of the industry for these things. The tribal communities of certain villages have taken to extensive vegetables growing to sell them in the local markets. The demand which has been created in the locality for vegetables has not only induced the tribals to grow them but also encouraged them to adopt improved agricultural practices such as application of fertilizer, pesticide and better water management for increasing the yield of vegetables and other crops.

Chhatola and Lakhotola the two hamlets of Kuaramunda, a village near Rourkela township present a spectacular transformation of its dry and barren lands to an extensive belt of green paddy and vegetable fields in the wake of industrialisation. This village was one time under the control of a landlord to whom most of the land in the village belonged and under whom the residents of the two toles were working as tenants. As the tribals have been in cultivating possession of the lands since time beyond memory they became real owners of their lands by the strength of their adverse possession after the abolition of Zamindari system. The Zamindar also did not stand in the way of their enjoying the possessory right over the land, and both the parties lived in an atmosphere of friendship. But seeing the rapid development of these lands and the huge income that the tribals got from such sources the son of the Zamindar tried to get back these lands from the tribals by various illegal means. This has resulted in serious conflict between the young Zamindar and the tribals. We selected these two hamlets to study not only the processes of modernisation in agriculture but also the impediments which the vested interests and the privileged elements of the locality created for the primitive communities.

PHYSICAL FEATURE

Sundergarh, a district in the Northern extremity of Orissa lies between $21^{\circ}32'E$ and $85^{\circ}22'E$ longitudes. It is bounded by Ranchi in the North, Singhbhum in the South, Sambalpur and Raigarh in the West, Keonjhar in the East,

In the district flow two main rivers... the Ib and the Bishnoi which irrigate extensively stretches of valleys and plain lands. The Boral sub division of the district is more mountainous and forested than other parts and it is here that the hill Baulmyes, the most primitive tribal community inhabit. This subdivision is marked by some of the high mountain ranges which form the important physical features of the topography of the district. One of the hill ranges is Bichakani (2984 ft.) which has iron-ore deposits in millions of tones. This deposit feeds the Rourkela steel plant which is situated in the heart of the tribal belt of the district.

The forests cover 2,683 Sq. miles of the district and contain mainly sal, asan and kurum trees. There is a stretch of coal bearing rock along the valley of the river Ib. Manganese, limestone, iron, kaolin, and fire-clay mines dotted here and there in the district give a strong industrial bias to the economic activity of the people.

The soil of Sundergarh subdivision is very fertile being situated in the Ib valley towards the South, and here the skillful and industrious 'Agarias' make the most of their land. In the northern portion which is inhabited by tribal people, the soil is less fertile. The cultivators are also at a disadvantage, owing to the ravages of wild animals and to their own ignorance of improved agricultural practices.

The district particularly the Sundergarh subdivision is dotted with tanks which are used for the purpose of irrigation. Pisciculture is also extensively practised by the people particularly the non-tribals of the district.

The climate of the district is characterised by hot summer and well distributed rainfall of the South-West monsoon season. The mean daily maximum temperature recorded at $41^{\circ}C$ in summer and the mean daily minimum temperature of $27^{\circ}C$ in cold season. The average annual rainfall in the district is 1647 mm (64.88"). The rain is fairly uniform in the whole district.

The oldest rock formations found in Sundergarh district are those belonging to the Gangapur series which are prevalent in the former Gangapur state. The major rock types of Gangapur series are phyllites, mica-schists, carbon phyllites calcitic and dolomitic marbles which

are followed by the rock formations belonging to the iron-ore series, viz., mica-schists, phyllites and quartzitic rocks with occasional beds of carbon phyllites. Rocks belonging to the iron-ore series are well developed in Bana area, especially in the eastern parts and also partly in the central and western parts.

Panposh

Panposh is the smallest of the three subdivisions in the district, which is situated towards the North-East direction bounded by Ranchi and Singhbhum districts of Bihar state. The total geographical area of the subdivision is 710.5 Sq. miles. There are 368 inhabited villages and 2 industrial towns namely Rourkela and Baramitrapur. The total population of the subdivision according to 1991 census is 2,67,937 of which 1,41,380 are Scheduled Tribes and 20,293 are Scheduled Castes. The main tribes inhabiting this subdivision are the Mundas, the Oraons, the Kisan, the Bhumija, the Kharis and the Bhojinya. The density of population of the subdivision is 377 which is more than the district figure of 200 per Sq. m.

The valley of the Brahmani is the centre of this subdivision and the river flows from South to North. There are two tributaries namely the Koel and the Sankh. The Koel runs from the East and the Sankh from the North. Both these rivers join the Brahmani near Panposh. There are a number of hill ranges, ranging from 1,500 ft. to 2,000 ft. in height.

Agriculture is the main stay of the tribes of this subdivision. The soil in general is unfertile except the river valleys which are fertile. The level of the lands is higher than that of the rivers and it creates difficulties in using the river water for the purpose of irrigation. The people grow mainly paddy in both upland and low land. They also grow dry crops like horsegram, blackgram and different types of Italian millets. Vegetables are being grown near the rivers and hill streams in the rainy season by means of lifting the water. Formerly they were growing the crops for home consumption. But they have taken to growing vegetables and pulses to meet the demands for these things in the industrial belts.

The Subdivision is highly rich in mineral resources. The majority of the ridges and hills between Baramitrapur, Panposh and Jareikela are formed of carbon phyllites. Banks of lime

stone and dolomite generally occur in the plain country. The country lying to the North of Baramitrapur and Hathibari around Jareikela and South of the railway line between Jareikela and Bamra is rich in deposits of mica schists and syllites belonging to iron-ore series.

In the past two decades, the Panposh subdivision has taken a new shape in the wake of industrialisation. The industrial complex includes the Bana limestone quarry situated at Baramitrapur. The Tata Iron and Steel Company Dolomite quarry is situated near Panposh and iron ore mine of the Hindustan Steel Limited at Purunapani. The most important industry is the Hindustan Steel Limited (HSL) at Rourkela which came into operation in the year 1953. The Orissa Fertilisers at Rourkela run by H. S. L., is a pride of the State. Many ancillary industries have also started functioning in and around Rourkela. At Lathikota, the Utkal Machinery is producing Furnace bricks. The tribes have been displaced to make room for the establishment of these industries. Some tribals have found employment in industrial installations and others have found it difficult to adjust themselves to the new surrounding. The impact of industrialisation on the tribal communities is the major theme of the study and we shall present in proper place below our findings on this topic.

Political History

1. Gangpur—The Sundergarh district comprises two erstwhile feudatory States—Gangpur and Bana. In the ancient times, Gangpur was a part of the territory of South Kosala. In about 350 A. D. Samudragupta the famous Gupta monarch defeated King Mahendra of South Kosala. But it is not definitely known whether the kingdom of South Kosala was then incorporated in the Gupta empire or not. Early in the 6th Century A. D., a new dynasty called the Sarabhapuriyas raised its head in Kosala region, and established their capital at Sarabhapura which is identified with Sarsagarh in the present Sundergarh district. One of the great rulers was Maharaja Prasanna Matra who was the first independent ruler of the dynasty and his name is found at the beginning of the genealogy of the royal family.

2. Bana—When Somavansi Kings were ruling Gangpur, the Bhaumas ruled over the coastal regions of Orissa. Between these two kingdoms

a number of petty principalities flourished owning allegiance mostly to the Bhaumas. One such principality was that of the Mayura family who ruled over the present Bonai region. The earliest known ruler of this family was Udaya Bataha who hailed from Chitrakota in Rajasthan and founded the rule of his family in Bonai region under the suzerainty of the Bhaumas. Udaya Bataha was a devout Buddhist and the emblem of his seal was the peacock. Subsequently the Mayura rulers of Bonai region were supplanted by the Bhanjas of Khijinga Kote (Khichingli) which in turn was replaced by the Kadamba dynasty which ruled Bonai till its merger in 1948.

The last king of the line was Prabharaja who was defeated and killed by the Raja Tig Tivara Deva of Panduvalvi who occupied Sorbhapura and built an extensive empire which comprised present Sundargarh district. His son Mahabhaugupta Janamejaya was an ambitious king and from his time onwards the family was popularly known as the Somavansi. During his rule the kingdom extended from the present district of Sundargarh in the north to Katsabandi in the south and Boudh region in the east. The Somavansi power of Kosala came to an end in 1022 A. D. after which the Katschuris seem to have occupied the Gangapur area. The Kosala region was occupied by the Gangas during the time of Anangabhimha Deva III (1211—1238 A.D.) and with that the present Sundargarh district came under the Ganga rule. During the Ganga rule, there was anarchy and chaos in the kingdom on account of quarrelling between the Zamindars for power and influence. It was by that time one Gangadhar Sekhar Deb, the younger brother of the Raja of Manbhumi, was passing through Gangapur on his way to Surguja. The Mahaji of Surgipalli, one of the feudal chiefs, met Gangadhar and both of them joined hands to subjugate the feudal chiefs. Gangadhar being successful in removing the chaotic state of affairs in the Kingdom was acknowledged by all to be the king of Gangapur. He founded a new capital town on the bank of the river Ib which was finally named as Gangapurgarh.

Early in the 19th century during the rule of Raja Indra Sekhar Deb, Pratap Mahaji of Surgipalli organised a rebellion to oust him from power and Indra Sekhar had to remove his headquarters from Gangapurgarh to Raysbaggarh as the Garatia of Raysbaggarh promised him to help against the Mahaji of Surgipalli. Parasuram

Sekhar received Sanad from the British Government in 1827, recognising him as the ruling chief of Gangapurgarh. The chiefs of this line were very much inclined towards modern culture and introduced various reforms in administration. This State was merged with Orissa on the 1st January 1940.

STUDY VILLAGES

In the Paaposh subdivision we studied three tribal villages. They are Jadakuder, Chhatiaol and Lakhetola. In addition we also studied Jelda, a tribal colony of mixed composition in which the tribal families who were displaced in the wake of Boudkals steel plant were rehabilitated. We give below our findings of tribal situation in these villages.

Jadakuder

This village is situated at a distance of over 25 miles from Uditnagar, the headquarters of the subdivision. The total geographical area of the village is 1248.81 acres. There were 109 households [71 Munda, 21 Oran, 1 Badaik (Weaver) and 1 Lohara (Blacksmith)] and the total population of the village was 720 (368 males and 352 females). The scheduled tribe population was 670 (345 males and 325 females) and the scheduled caste population was 50 (23 males and 27 females).

The village has mainly 3 clusters of settlements situated at different places. In some cases the members of a particular clan live in close proximity in some clusters. The houses are fairly big and are surrounded by a wooden fence within which are a few trees such as Sajna, Guava, Papaya, etc.

The village is inhabited by two tribal communities, that is, the Munda and the Oran who are dominant in the village. There are a few families of Badaik and Lohara who are scheduled caste. First to come to this village which is 100 year old were three Munda families who immigrated from Ranchi district of Bihar state. They reclaimed the forest and made this place habitable and cultivable. Then followed a few Oran families who in the like manner cleared the forest and cut down the trees and made more land cultivable and settled down in a separate cluster. The Badaik and the Lohara whose services were indispensable to the Munda and the Oran joined the tribes of the village and

settled down in a cluster of their own. Thus the village grew in size, and the cultivated land was expanded with the increase of population.

Though the village is close to the river Brahmani which touches its boundary in the east its inhabitants fail to use its water for irrigation as the lands are in the higher level and the facilities of lift irrigation are lacking. There are 662.94 acres of cultivable land in the village of which the Mundas hold 494.93 acres (74.66%), the Oras 141.78 acres (21.33%) and the Badak 26.23 acres (4.01%). The Lohras family is landless. The land in this village is of various types—the Mui or up land, the Bera or medium land, and Bahal or low land. The land which is very dry and rocky is called Gada. These land types are suitable for different crops. For example, the crops which are grown in Gada are: Horse gram, Red gram, Black gram, Ragland Gunduli (Samu-Kutta). In the Mui land, upland paddy and vegetables are grown. The Bera and Bahal lands are most suitable for paddy cultivation. Certain patches of fertile land called Kudara are situated in the bank of the river and its tributary which they utilize exclusively for growing vegetables. The principal crops grown in the village are paddy (602.62 acres), horsegram (56.70 acres) and vegetables (17.74 acres). The people have taken to vegetable growing extensively in Kudara land to meet the demand for them in the industrial township of Rourkela. Formerly, they used to grow chilli to supply to the far off markets at Ranchi and Biramitrapur. But since the industry was developed at Rourkela which created a huge demand for them the tribes have cut off their trade links with the far off market places and established new links with the local market centres.

There is very little impact of the industrial complex on the occupational pattern of the village which remains basically agriculture oriented. Barring a negligible number of 18 persons who are employed in the industrial labour at Rourkela, all others are engaged in agriculture which is supplemented by wage earning and periodic agricultural labour. The wage rate varies from Rs. 1.50 to Rs. 2.50 depending upon the nature of work. On the whole it is very low and the income from this source is not substantial.

The villagers have an interesting system of co-operative labour. The Munda who are Lutherans and the Oraon who are catholic have

each of their own systems of co-operative labour. The system is called Panch. A group of people of the village becomes members of a Panch and helps each other on the basis of mutuality of obligation. There are four Panchas one in each ward of the village.

The people of the village are in general small land holders. 78.0 per cent families hold land between .01 acre and 10 acres and 11.0 per cent families are landless labourers. For want of irrigation facilities the dry lands do not yield substantially. Average gross yield of paddy per acre of land is 308.529 Kgs. and in this village average size of land holding per family is 6.03 acres (0.92 acres per capita land holding). Thus it shows that the income of the small land holders who are numerically predominant in the village from the poor type of lands is not sufficient to meet the annual requirement of food. The income from other sources is equally meagre. Taking all sources—primary and secondary—together the per capita annual income of people of this village comes to only Rs. 259.16. That is why the village meets a deficit of food for 100 days in a year.

The study of the composition of food shows that the food supply is deficient both quantitatively and nutritionally. The food is most deficient in animal protein, oil and fat. Milk is 100 per cent deficient. Under such circumstances the people have poor health and their physical growth is retarded and the period of youth is short lived. The low yield from land has led the people to borrow food grains and money to meet their needs. Therefore, the problem of indebtedness is somewhat acute. They depend more upon the source of institutional credit co-operative societies from which they get loan than upon itinerant local money-lenders, and therefore the harassment of indebtedness to which they are subjected is less severe than that which their counterparts in other regions who depend upon the local money lenders under go and endure.

The study of the economic life of the people of this village shows that neither religious factor, that is the protestantism to which the Munda subscribe nor the industrial complex which is close at hand motivated them to try on innovations for their economic development. It is assumed that the protestant ethics generate a spirit of capitalism, and on this basis we expected that the Munda of the village who are protestants must be economically more

progressive and enterprising than the Catholic Orsons who are traditionalistic and averse to adopt economic innovations. But it is our observation that both the Munda and the Orson are equally sluggish in economic development, and their social system is devoid of 'rational organisation'.

Chutiatola-Lakhotola

The next study village is Kuarmunda of which two of its hamlets were studied. They are Chutiatola and Lakhotola. These two hamlets were once under the ex-Zamindari system and the agricultural labourers of the Zamindar were the residents of these hamlets. For the purpose of study more attention was given to these two hamlets as spectacular development is noticed in agriculture in these hamlets. The study is therefore directed towards finding out the factors which motivated people to improve their agricultural practices.

Chutiatola and Lakhotola are situated at a distance of 1 Km. and 2 Kms. from Kuarmunda respectively. Both are almost on the road side—the former by the side of Biramitrapur-Rourkela Highway and the latter one-fourth mile away from the same road. All the cultivable lands are in between these two hamlets. The Rural Extension Dairy Farm is situated very close to the hamlets.

Chutiatola is a heterogeneous village inhabited by 251 people of three Munda (24 people), 11 Orson (78 people) and 27 Kisan (149 people) families, who live (mixed together in a single cluster in the hamlet.

Lakhotola is also a heterogeneous village inhabited by 15 Kisan (97 people) five Bhuinya (40 people) and three Tanti (16 people) families. The first two are the scheduled tribe and the last one scheduled caste. These three communities live in their respective clusters which are separated from one another. The houses are tile roofed and have each a compound wall. The Bhuinya of the hamlet are culturally and economically more progressive and advanced than the Kisan. In a large measure they are like caste Hindus in their way of life. The Bhuinyas migrated to the village 50 years back from Pedanpur, a neighbouring village, which was affected by the land slide. They are related to the Zamindar of the village. The Kisan and others of the village look upon the Bhuinyas with suspicion because of their espionage and relationship with the Zamindar

who exploited them in the past. That is why the Bhuinya and the Kisan have contended and clashed with one another several times.

In the year 1954-55, the Government of Orissa acquired 82.00 acres of land from Chutiatola and 8.25 acres from Lakhotola for establishing the Rural Extension Dairy Farm. All the dry land with the trees of Chutiatola and a large portion of such lands with trees also of Lakhotola came under the land acquisition measures which cut down their income from such sources. The dispute with the former Zamindar leading to attachment of about 50 acres of land has further reduced the cultivated area and the income therefrom.

As pointed out earlier, the residents of these two hamlets were agricultural labourers of the erstwhile Zamindar who gave them some land to cultivate in recognition of their service to him. The designation of these hamlets as Begari village (labourer village) is derived from this source. From the time of the zamindar the tribals of the hamlets are in cultivating possession of the land, and they got them recorded in their names and received patta at the time of land survey and settlement. Meanwhile, the Government of Orissa worked out the Kail lift irrigation scheme with an ayacut area of 1,400 acres in which all the lands of Chutiatola and Lakhotola included. As the water was available the people put more land under cultivation and double cropping. They grew many new crops such as wheat and potato and a variety of vegetables such as tomato and cabbage which they had not grown before. Extensive cultivation of ground nut and mustard was also due to the availability of irrigation facilities. Seeing the rapid development of the lands the son of the deceased Zamindar to whom the lands originally belonged attached upon certain patches of land which were under the possession of some tribals and grew crops and appropriated them paying no heed to the complaints of the actual owners of such lands. Once the young Zamindar was successful in grabbing some land from the innocent tribals, he tried to grab more land from others. But he failed in his attempts as the leaders of the hamlets obstructed him from doing so and mobilized the mass to fight against the young Zamindar. This resulted in series of serious encounters between the tribals on one side and the young Zamindar on the other. Being wealthy and influential the young

Zemindar instituted civil and criminal cases which resulted in economic intimidation of the tribals and attachment of the lands under dispute.

Large land owners are significant by their absence in Chutistola and Lakhsotola. Except 7.32 per cent in the case of the former and 21.74 per cent in the latter who are landless labourers almost all others have land, less than 10 acres, the majority being on the low side of this range. The per capita land holding in both the hamlets varies from 0.40 acres to 0.80 acres which are the lowest of the corresponding figures in any of the other study villages. But the variety of crops grown by the tribes of these hamlets is greater than any other study villages, and in yield per acre of land the farmers of these hamlets lead others in the neighbouring villages. Barling Sutaranjeo and Jalda which are colonies of the displaced tribals and non-agricultural villages the tribes of these hamlets lead other study villages in per capita annual income which is Rs. 327.51 in the case of Chutistola and Rs. 411.33 in the case of Lakhsotola. (See table 9). Between these two hamlets Lakhsotola is better economically than Chutistola as the former presents a surplus of food supply for 141 days whereas the latter is short of food only by 10 days, i.e. compared with the study villages which show shortage of food. Chutistola has a food gap of shorter duration. (See table 10). Besides the irrigation facility which has increased the productivity of the land and income of the people the dolomite quarry of TISCO near these hamlets has also provided employment opportunities as wage earners and the earning from this quarry has substantially supplemented the income from agriculture. Though there is no food anxiety the threat by the vested interest and the past feudal order to their right on their land is of greatest concern which smoulders now but may flare up into a big flame of uprising if their interests are not legally safeguarded, and proper justice not awarded to them in right time.

JALDA SETTLEMENT OF THE DISPLACED TRIBALS

Jalda is one of the three settlements in which the tribals who were displaced from 33 villages in and around Rourkela in the wake of the Hindustan Steels Limited were rehabilitated. The other two colonies inhabited by the displaced tribal families are Jheerpani and Minds. The

Government paid compensation ranging from Rs. 200 to Rs. 800 per acre of land and provided homestead land of the size of 40' x 60' to each displaced family in the colony and some land for carrying on cultivation.

Jalda is heterogeneous in ethnic composition. It has 939 people divided into 12 different ethnic groups of which the Bhumijs are in majority. They were not satisfied with whatever help was given to them by the Government. They were not also happy in the settlement because of many difficulties which they were facing and the harassment to which they were subjected. Many a time they have expressed their dissatisfaction against the administrative authorities of the Rourkela Steel Plant and also of the Government of Orissa through agitations and mass meetings. They have also resorted to dharna and hunger strike in order to put forward their grievances to the authorities but of no avail. As a result, the agitation and unrest was intensified and has taken a violent turn. Mass rally of the tribals, assault, murder and tribal-non-tribal encounter have become the regular features of the day-to-day life in the Rourkela township.

In the discussions which follow we have listed some of their grievances, the nature of agitations and the order of development and the political situation now existing in Rourkela and its neighbouring areas.

The first and foremost problem which the tribals had to face as a result of the establishment of the steel plant in their home land was their displacement from their native place. The tribals were carrying on agriculture in their native villages. The land which they were tilling for generations was not only an economic concern to them but also it was as dear as life to them. Their land was also the home of their dead ancestors. Therefore, when they had to part with their land for the purpose of establishing the steel plant it was a terrible shock to them. The displaced tribal families were given compensation for the land and the home they lost and also some land in far off places for carrying on cultivation. But the tribals utilised most of the money in the construction of their houses and there was nothing left to invest in the land for the purpose of agriculture. Moreover, the lands given to them by the Government were at a distance of 25 to 30 miles from the colony and therefore it was not possible on the part of the tribals

to put these lands to any use. Thus most of the displaced families became landless and unemployed.

There was no alternative employment opportunities readily available to them to fill back upon. But with much difficulty some families were absorbed as hired labourers under the contractors who were working in the area. But the wage they got was quite inadequate and the payment was very much irregular. As a result, they are not in a position to compensate what they lost in the process of their displacement.

The tribals did not have easy access to industrial labour because they were illiterate and unskilled. They could not even get unskilled labour in the industrial complex because they could not compete with the outsiders who were literate and skilled and got employment in the industry without much difficulty. The problem of unemployment was so acute among the displaced tribal people that they started agitations and rose in revolt against the administration of the Rourkela Steel Plant. At this juncture Sri T. N. Singh, the then Union Minister for Steel, had visited Rourkela. He came to know the plight of these displaced families. He suggested to the administrative authorities of the steel plant that at least one member from each family should be given a job in the steel plant. According to this decision the authorities provided employment to some people but the problem of unemployment remained basically unresolved. We have furnished two cases showing what difficulties the tribals are facing in Rourkela as a result of their displacement and unemployment.

Case No. 7—Ganesh Luthra and Fate Luthra are two brothers living together in a joint family. They were the residents of Garidh village. They had nine acres of cultivated land and two houses in their original village. The Patta relating to the land was in the name of Ganesh Luthra who was the elder brother. The Government acquired this village in the year 1952 and as a result Ganesh and Fate were displaced. The Government paid them a compensation of Rs. 2,000 towards the land and also Rs. 1,800 each towards their houses. Besides, the Government gave them four acres of land for cultivation and two house sites of 40' x 60' each at Jajda colony. According to the decision of the Union Minister, the

authorities of the steel plant provided employment to Ganesh Luthra and gave him a salary of Rs. 400 per month. But they did not consider the case of Fate Luthra who remained unemployed.

The land which was given to these two brothers are situated at Jheerpani which is at a distance of 25 miles from Jajda. These two brothers could not make use of this land because it was so far away from Jajda where they were living. Moreover, the land needed reclamation, for which they needed some money which they lacked. As a result the land given to them remained fallow, and the brothers could not bring it under cultivation.

As one of the brothers got employment in the industry he could manage his family without any difficulty. But the other brother who was without employment was in great difficulty. The two brothers who lived together were got themselves separated and between their families a feeling of ill-will and hatred was accentuated because of the economic disparity.

Case No. 2—Chasen Samral, Budhub Samral, Sukdal Samral are brothers and they lived together in a joint family in Garidh village. They had four acres of land including their dwelling houses. It was in the year 1954, the Government acquired their land and house and paid compensation of Rs. 5,000 towards their land and Rs. 4,800 towards their house. The Government also provided three plots of homestead land at Jajda colony for constructing their houses and 7 acres of land at Jheerpani for the purpose of cultivation. As in the first case the three brothers could not make use of the land because it was far away from their settlement and the land needed reclamation for which they lacked necessary funds. Though they approached the administrative authorities of the steel plant for providing them with some employment in the industry but they turned a deaf ear to them. Finding no way out they took wage farming under the contractors. The wage which they got was so meagre and the payment was so irregular that they were in great difficulty to manage their family.

These two cases show that the tribal families who were displaced from their hearth and home and who were dispossessed from their land which was as dear as life to them were not provided with suitable employment to earn their livelihood. As alternative employment

opportunities were not available in the area they took to wage earning which also did not meet their requirements. The administrative authorities of the Government of Orissa and the Steel Plant did not pay any heed to their grievances. As a result, the tribals became frustrated and have expressed their dissatisfaction against the authorities by organising demonstrations and "channas" and militant agitations and protests.

The tribal people were basically agriculturists. They were not familiar with industrial labour or employment in any industrial complex. The routine of work followed in the agricultural operation was not very much rigid. But the work in the industry required some discipline such as coming to the work in time and following the rules and regulations of industrial labour. In other words the tribal workers have not developed the sense of time considered necessary in the industrial society. They still prefer to work on tribal time, which is much more flexible than the "urban or industrial time." The tribal people who were employed in the industry did not show any commitment to industrial discipline. We have seen in many cases that as soon as the tribals received their salary on the first of every month they remained absent for three or four days even for a week in some cases from the work without any prior permission from the authorities and spent their time in drinking and dancing. When the money was exhausted they returned to the industry and sought for working in their jobs. The authorities according to the service code marked them absent and in some cases dismissed them from service. Poor tribals could not understand why they were dismissed or why they got their salary at the reduced rate. Moreover, the authorities did not have any organisation by which to educate these tribals regarding the industrial discipline and how their commitment to these disciplines would be developed. We have found that many tribals have lost their job in the industry as a result of their negligence in their duties and irregular attendance in the work.

After the establishment of the Hindustan Steel Limited and other ancillary industries in Rourkela area many non-tribals have migrated to this place in order to seek their

fortune. The most important among them are the Punjabi, the Muslim and the Bihari. Taking undue advantage of the ignorance and illiteracy of the tribal communities these people pretend themselves to be their well-wishers and have started the business of money lending among them. The tribals are always in need of money. Therefore they have fallen as easy prey to these unscrupulous money lenders. These money-lenders advance loans to those who are in services in the industry or who are likely to get employment in the industry. The amount they lend varies from Rs. 20 to Rs. 30 and the interest they charge varies from 15 to 20 paise per rupee per month. They collect their dues from the borrowers at the time of disbursement of their salaries. As the interest charged by the money-lenders is very high the tribals find it difficult to repay the loan in time. Sometimes they hide from the money-lender and keep themselves off from their houses. If the money-lender does not find any borrower at the time of the disbursement of the salary he tries to catch him on his way back home and snatches away from him whatever money he has with him. In case, the amount he takes away by force is less than what is due to him he raids his house and forcibly takes away some of his valuable articles such as radio, cycle or watch and adjusts it against the amount which he lent to him. The harassment and the high-handedness of the money-lender to which the tribals are subject are so painful that many tribal borrowers have left the job in the industry and have run away from the colony.

The money-lenders are also owners of liquor shops which they have opened in Rourkela. As the tribals are addicted to drinking they have fallen as easy prey to these shopkeepers. The tribals get the required quantity of liquor from these shops on credit and are subjected to perpetual indebtedness to the shop-keepers. The money-lenders have also started business with cycle, torchlight and clothes. The tribals in the industrial zone are very much attracted towards these fashionable goods, and spend most of their income on these luxurious items. This is another opportunity which the money-lenders

*A group of agitated tribals with their leader sitting days together in front of the office or the residence of the authorities. They make a small shed under which they sit and in front of this shed put a sign board giving an account of their movement.

avail of for exploiting the tribal people. Some of the merchants who came working to this place and started business in a very modest way are now owners of cars and motorcycles and maintain a very high standard of living. Two cases cited below show to what extent the tribals are exploited by the money-lenders.

Case 1—Maghusudhan Bhumija of Jajda colony was working as khulasi in the Hindustan Steel Limited. He had taken a loan of Rs. 200 in the year 1964 from a money lender named Mahendra Singh. The loanee had paid Rs. 3,000 towards the interest at the rate of Rs. 50 per month. As he had an attack of leprosy he was removed from the service and from that time onwards it was difficult for him to pay anything to the money-lender. One day the money-lender visited his house and took away his cycle by force. The cost of the cycle is Rs. 350 which he adjusted against the principal amount of Rs. 200.

Case 2—Singh Bhumija is a native of Jajda. He was employed as khulasi in HSL. In the year 1962, he borrowed Rs. 100 from Rajendra Singh, the local money-lender and agreed to pay the interest at 15 paise per rupee per month. Thereafter he went on paying regularly the interest at Rs. 15 per month till 1st January 1972 when the money-lender demanded the principal amount for payment of Rs. 300. Singh Bhumija said that he had taken only Rs. 100 not Rs. 300 for which he had been paying interest at Rs. 15 every month for the last 10 years. The Punjabi money-lender did not pay any heed to the argument of Singh Bhumija and insisted payment of Rs. 300. He also threatened him to put him in trouble if he did not pay him Rs. 300. Singh Bhumija had to yield to pay Rs. 300 under threat. But he delayed the payment as he was in financial difficulties. One day the money-lender with the help of his friends interrupted him on his way back home and snatched away his cycle. Singh Bhumija appealed to the money-lender not to take away the cycle as it did not belong to him. In fact, Singh Bhumija borrowed the cycle from some of his friends. But the money-lender did not pay any heed to his request and did not released the cycle. It may be noted that the money-lender had received advance information from the office that Singh Bhumija had received a sum of Rs. 500 towards cyclone relief and the money was with him. When he was caught on the way by the money-lender, Singh

Bhumija was at a fix and did not know what to do. Finally when he found that there was no alternative he paid Rs. 300 to the money-lender and got the cycle back from him.

Many wicked persons of non-tribal origin have taken advantage of the innocence of the tribal people. This point has been illustrated by giving a case below:

Mochiral Bhumija and Rohidas Bhumija are brothers working in the Hindustan Steel Limited as pipe cleaner and security guard since 1962. It was in the year 1968 that they were wrongly entangled in a murder case by the treacherous non-tribals to fulfil their male *fi*de intention. Consequently both of them were kept under suspension and were taken into custody by the police. The case against them lingered for about a year and finally both of them were acquitted and were released from the custody of the police. After release when both of them went to report to duty they were denied admission into the service. However, after a protracted representation the younger one somehow could manage to get his post whereas the elder one failed in doing so. Ever since he has been making sincere attempts to get himself absorbed in his original post but of no avail. The authorities of the industry have taken a non-tribal substitute in his place and thrown him out of service for no fault of his.

Many such cases have been the causes for the agitations which are launched by the tribals against the authorities of the industry and the Government of Orissa. The growing unrest and tension which we notice among the tribals of this area are manifestations of harassment and exploitation to which they are subject. The following instances show how the tribal situation in Rourkela has taken a violent turn. The course of the development of tribal conflict is as follows:

One Debnarayan Sahoo (referred hereafter Mr. Sahoo) who is the tribal leader of this area was originally the resident of Tumkura village which was acquired for the purpose of industrial development. Being uprooted from his native place Debnarayan Sahoo settled in Jajda Colony. Having lost all his 22 acres of land which was situated in his native village, he started the betel shop in the Rourkela Steel township. As he prospered in his business, he converted this shop into a tea stall and later to a canteen. As he

was popular in the area he could get many customers and prosper in his business. Close to his shop was a canteen which was run by the Assistant Security Officer of the Steel Plant. But he had less customers and his sales were not attractive because most of the people used to visit the tea stall-cum-canteen of Mr. Sahu. The Assistant Security Officer was very much aggrieved at this and managed to stop Mr. Sahu's canteen as well as of other private canteens located in the premises of the Steel Plant. The reason given by the authority who abolished these canteens was to start a canteen on co-operative basis and under this scheme the private canteens had no place.

Aggrieved by this, Mr. Sahu was determined to fight for the tribals who were suffering at the hands of the authorities of the Steel Plant and the unscrupulous non-tribals of the area. He organised a meeting of all the displaced persons and invited them to this meeting. The important tribal leaders of the locality were also invited to discuss the tribal problems. In the meeting they resolved to form a Committee which was called Rourkela Displaced Committee and elected the important tribal leaders to constitute the office bearers of this Committee. In one of the meetings of this Committee which was held on the 16th April, 1966, the members adopted the following resolutions :

(1) That the Ambadi lands lying in between Jajda and Lathikata area be settled in favour of the non-tribals by the land Settlement Operations in spite of objections raised by the displaced persons; that such lands be settled in favour of the displaced tribals and they may be permitted to cultivate these lands on a co-operative basis;

(2) That the lands lying unutilised by the Steel Plant be temporarily leased out to the displaced tribals for the purpose of carrying on cultivation.

(3) That the displaced tribals be provided with suitable employment in the Steel Plant according to the decision of the Union Minister for Steel ; and

(4) That a High School be established immediately by the Government in the Jajda Colony.

In another meeting held on the 28th May 1966, some more resolutions were passed. They are as follows :

1. The Government of Orissa have notified on the 22nd February 1964 that the lands were urgently needed by the Government for construction of the Steel Plant. But although 10 years have been passed, the Steel Plant has not utilised all the lands acquired from the 33 villages which were uprooted in the process. We notice that some of these lands which were acquired from the tribals have been given on lease to big businessmen. This practice of leasing out the land of the tribals should be stopped and all such lands be restored to the tribal owners.

2. Although the Government have promised that the displaced persons should be provided with all facilities in the colonies such as education, water, housing and electricity, their promise have remained unfulfilled. The Government should be moved to provide these facilities immediately.

3. The liquor shops which the Government have encouraged to be opened by the licensed liquor vendors should be banned as the tribals are exploited by the liquor vendors and reduced to impoverishment.

4. Each displaced family has been provided homestead land measuring 40' x 60' which is hardly sufficient for the tribal family. Hence they should be given dwelling sites of larger dimension.

Despite all these demands and several demonstrations nothing could happen. It was on the 14th July 1966 five displaced tribals attempted to cultivate the fallow land situated in H. S. L. for which they were allotted. They were released on bail and finally were acquitted. Immediately after this incident, the displaced tribals, under the leadership of Mr. Sahu proclaimed that the land around the steel plant was theirs and they have right to cultivate it. On 6th August 1966 a group of tribals numbering 25 started cultivating this land, without any obstruction from the steel plant to which it belonged. Later, the administrator had an amicable settlement with the tribals permitting them to cultivate the land.

The next issue which the Committee took up was in respect of employment. The Officer in charge of employment exchange was unwilling to sponsor the names of the tribals to the steel plant for their employment. As a protest against this Mr. Sahu, the tribal leader sent eight displaced tribals to the employment Office and

appealed to the officer to sponsor their names to the steel plant for absorbing them in certain posts which were lying vacant. But the officer was unkind to the tribals and their leader with whom he misbehaved in the office. He also drove them out of office by force. Being aggrieved Mr. Sahu with his followers who were assaulted brought it to the notice of local advocate who was a well wisher of the displaced tribals and the President of the Displaced Members Committee, who negotiated with the officer of the Employment Exchange and compromised the issue.

But the agitation did not die out here. On 24th August 1966 the tribal leaders and the members of displaced Members Committee convened a mass meeting of the tribals in front of the Employment Exchange. The meeting was attended by more than one thousand tribals. What resolutions were adopted are as follows:

1. That the displaced persons be provided with jobs forthwith.
2. They may be allotted land to open shops in the shopping centres of the township.
3. They may be given written permission to cultivate the fallow land around the steel plant although they have been verbally allowed to cultivate it.
4. The present employment officer be transferred forthwith.

After this for the first time Jharkhand party held its meeting in Roukela on 30th June 1968, which was attended by about 15 thousand tribals. This gathering displayed the strength of tribals which was an eye opener to the non-tribals and the authorities of the steel plant. In this year a new union called Spot Samik Samgh (Steel Plant Workers Union) was formed. Mr. D. Mahato, the then leading lawyer was elected as its President. Mr. Poyas Kalu as Working President, R. M. Patnaik as Working General Secretary and Allison Patro as its Vice President. The first task which the union took up itself was the case of the 60 tribals who were retrenched on the 30th November 1968 from the Malaria Eradication Department. The members of the union urged upon the authorities of the Malaria Department to reinstate them forthwith. When nothing came out of their peaceful attempts the union conducted a Dharn a in front of the administrative building on the

3rd December which lasted for about 25 days and later it was transformed into hunger strike. Then the Government agreed to take them back subject to their suitability. Subsequently only 28 people were reinstated and the rest were not taken as they were considered unsuitable. At this the simmering discontent was accentuated and awaited for its outlet on suitable occasion.

On the 24th January 1969 one tribal woman was selling fruits at Tarapur gate outside the steel plant. A non-tribal Oriya forcibly snatched away some fruits out of her basket and ran away. The tribal woman started crying in despair which was heard by Mr. Sahu who was then sitting in a saloon nearby. Suddenly he came out of the saloon and caught hold of the miscreant and asked him to pay the tribal woman the cost of the fruits. The non-tribal replied that he need not pay anything to the woman and that he had no right to interfere in the matter. But Mr. Sahu insisted that he should pay. At this the non-tribal got angry and assaulted him. Other non-tribals who were at the gate also joined the miscreants and assaulted Mr. Sahu. Mr. Sahu reported the incident to the neighbouring tribal who in a state of fury ran to the gate with their bows and arrows to take revenge. About 2,000 tribals gathered there for this purpose. But the bloodshed was averted by the timely intervention of the local police.

After a fortnight Mr. Sahu and other tribal leaders of the locality convened a meeting which was attended by about 3,000 tribals. They also invited the local M. P. and M. L. A. who belonged to Swatantra Party and also the leaders of Jharkhand Party. The issue discussed in the meeting was about the kind of harassment and humiliation of the non-tribals to which the tribals were subject and the measures to be adopted for protecting them from such practices. The leaders appealed to the tribals present in the meeting to stand united to defend themselves and up-root all causes of exploitation.

A few days after this meeting the opposition party organised a protest march against the enhancement of bus fare in Roukela. The Congress Workers of the locality wanted that the local tribals should be on their side and should not take part in the march. To achieve this objective, the Congress workers asked some tribal women to hold the Congress flag and stand in front of the Bus stand. This arrangement

was meant for showing to the public that the tribals were on their side. But the tribal women did not agree to hold the Congress flag. But the Congress workers forced them to do so. The tribal women protested and were aggrieved. The tribal leaders appeared in the spot and raised strong protest against the force which the Congress workers applied to fulfil their desire. Meanwhile the leaders of Swatantra and Jharkhand Party came rushing to the spot and there was also a gathering of tribals in thousands at the bus stand. There was a confrontation between the Congress workers on one side and the tribals and other political parties on the other. But the police rushed to the spot and started lathi charge and dispersed the mob.

One after another political agitation was repeated in Roukela and the tribals were implicated in such activities. In the year 1969 the leaders of the Congress and P. S. P. parties launched demonstration demanding for a railway line from Bhimagada to Talcher. To intensify this agitation they organised Roukela Bandh on the 21st August 1969. As against this movement the students' Democratic Organisation, Jharkhand and Swatantra parties organised a counter movement and marched in the streets of Roukela township on the 20th August 1969 in order to quash the 'bandh' which the Congress party organised. The slogans of the opposition party were, "No destruction of public properties be allowed and all shops and offices should remain open on the 21st August 1969." The Spot Samik Singh organised by the tribals supported the Swatantra and Jharkhand parties and came out with bows and arrows into the streets shouting their slogans "Roukela is ours and the National Property is ours." The result was that the Bandh was a failure, and the success in this political activity on the part of the tribals was a matter of great delight to them.

With the success in the political field the popularity of Mr. Sahu as the tribal leader was enhanced and the tribals of the locality rallied round him in large number in support of his struggle for their liberation from the clutches of the exploiters and for providing employment to the unemployed ones.

His next attempt was to provide employment to the tribals of Bund Munda village which was acquired by the railways for making it a marshaling yard. With his followers he launched

a campaign to ventilate the grievances of the tribals of Bund Munda and was successful in the long run in getting the unemployed tribals employed in the railway services. He also organised a Dharna in front of the administrative building of the Steel Plant demanding quick action in favour of the displaced tribals for their employment in the industrial complex. The authorities conceded to his demand and provided employment to 20 tribals immediately with a promise to employ the remaining unemployed ones as quickly as possible.

In quick succession a case of dispute over land took place which required the attention of Mr. Sahu for settlement. A muslim businessman occupied by force a piece of land belonging to a displaced tribal person. Mr. Sahu with the help of the tribal union pressed the trespasser for eviction. Finding no way out the businessman had to quit; but he attempted to murder Mr. Sahu. One day while Mr. Sahu was returning from Roukela for home the businessman with the help of a group of goondas stopped him and beat him severely. Though Mr. Sahu sustained severe injuries he managed to escape and got himself admitted in the hospital for treatment. The tribals came to know about this incident and were determined to take revenge. Hundreds of tribals with bow and arrows ran here and there in search of the businessman to kill him. The police force was deployed to restore peace and order. But the agitated tribals were in such a great fury that they beat the magistrate who was in charge of the force and made frantic attempts to set ablaze shops, houses and the police station and attack whichever happened to come by. In such a situation the police had to use tear gas and disperse the mobs with much difficulty.

The tribal situation in Roukela has become so tense that the tribals rise in revolt against the authorities, for any slightest provocation and in situations, when they feel that they are discriminated against. In the year 1970 the Deputy General Manager of the steel plant selected the sportsmen of the plant to represent the organization of the tournament. The persons chosen were all non-tribals and there was not a single tribal among them to represent the organization.

It may be noted that the tribals in general are great lovers of sports. Proper training in modern sportsmanship would make them good

sportsmen. The DGM was not aware of this cultural trait of the tribal communities. Therefore at the time of selection he overlooked the tribals thinking them to be backward and useless for this purpose and considered only those non-tribals who are selected every year as athletes and sportsmen.

The potential athletes and sportsmen among the tribals who were working in the steel plants were aggrieved by this discrimination and represented their case to the concerned authorities who turned a deaf ear to their appeal. It was natural that they got angry and militant. One day about 60 tribal employees of the steel plant got divided into four groups and gheraoed the DGM while he was coming from office to his residence and beat him and damaged his car. Somehow or other the officer managed to escape and reported the matter in the police who arrested the culprits and instituted a case against them which is pending in the court.

All these incidents amplify the growing unrest and tension among the tribals of Rourkela area. The genesis of their discontent which has taken a violent turn is their displacement from their hearth and home, and the consequence such as unemployment which followed as a result of lack of proper attention to their rehabilitation. Considering the steel plant as something of importance of highest order the Government acquired lands and villages of the tribals for setting up the plant. But the state of affairs as existing today in

Rourkela shows that the same consideration is lacking in rehabilitating the tribals who were rendered landless and homeless. Any economic development at the cost of human materials does not help in building a socialist pattern of society which our nation envisages to achieve. Rather it creates chaos, disorganization and imbalance and other pathological developments in the life of the people. For example, the tribal children of the displaced families have taken to extensive stealing, scoring and beggary as primary source of livelihood. There are merchants, businessmen and politicians in the industrial zone to patronize such activities for their benefit and development. Moreover having come in contact with the political parties the tribals have developed a taste for politics. They have become conscious of their rights and duties as a result of the impact of local and national political idioms on them and growing politicization of their problems. Formation of unions and committees has modernized their traditional political organization and provided legitimacy to their demands and gained their acceptance in the new socio-political order. Mass meeting, militant agitation, demonstration drama, and hungerstrike which were foreign to the political culture of the tribal communities have become the most common and universally accepted strategies by which to fulfil their demands and gain their legitimate share of scarce resources for economic and political development, preserve their self-respect and meet the revolution of their rising aspirations and expectations.

RANCHI (BIHAR)

INTRODUCTION

Across the belt of middle India running from the border of Gujarat through Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa and Bengal was a vast tract of undulating upland interspersed with hilly spurs and fertile valleys. The area is thickly forested and richly endowed with mineral deposits of great economic value. In the state of Bihar, this area includes Chotanagpur and Bhagalpur divisions and 90 per cent of the tribals in Bihar are concentrated in this region. Of all the parts in the state, Ranchi has the largest density of tribal population of about 60 per cent. The scheduled areas of the state are restricted to Ranchi, Palamau and Singhbhum and Santal Pargana districts which are all located in the Chotanagpur plateau.

There are two zones in Bihar, the North Bihar and the South Bihar. The former zone comprises 62 per cent of the state's area and 81.03 per cent of the state's population. The Southern zone comprises 33 per cent of the state's area and 19 per cent of the total population. The highest concentration of tribals 93.7 per cent is in the South Bihar which is popularly known as Chotanagpur plateau. The Chotanagpur plateau consists of 6 districts namely, Ranchi, Singhbhum, Dhanbad, Palamau, Hazaribag and Santal parganas, which are the epitome of Kolarian tribal communities. The three study villages are included in Ranchi district. They are Raidin, Nawatoli and Sataranji. The last one is a colony of the tribal families who were displaced as a result of the development of the industrial complex. We selected these villages in Ranchi district because all important industrial complexes are located in it and therefore here we can study the impact of industrialization on the tribes of Bihar in the best possible manner.

Ranchi district:

It comes under Chotanagpur division and its area is 7,016 Sq. miles. The total population of the district is 21,39,565 and the density of

population is 304. Out of the total population, 13,17,513 are Scheduled Tribes (61.81 per cent) and 87,399 are Scheduled Castes (4.55 per cent). Among the scheduled tribes inhabiting the district the Munda, the Oraon and the Kharia are most important so far as their numerically strength are considered. The population of the Munda, the Oraon and the Kharia is 4,56,000, 4,37,000 and 90,000 respectively.

Physical features

The district of Ranchi forms the west-central portion of the Chotanagpur division which is popularly known as Jharkhand (meaning forest territory). It is situated between 22° 21' and 23° 43' north latitude and 84° 0' and 85° 54' east longitude. It extends over an area of 7035.2 Sq. miles and is the largest district in the State of Bihar. It is bounded on the north of the districts of Palamau and Hazaribag, on the east by the district of Purulia (in West Bengal), on the south by the districts of Singhbhum and Sundargarh (in Orissa) and on the west by the district of Raigarh (in Madhya Pradesh). Ranchi is the headquarters and principal town of the district. It is also the administrative headquarters of the Chotanagpur division and the summer capital of Bihar State.

The district of Ranchi comprises three broad natural divisions, viz.,

- (1) the north-western part region
- (2) the lower Chotanagpur Plateau; and
- (3) the Ranchi Plateau proper.

The study villages are situated in the Ranchi plateau, which has an average elevation of 2,000 ft. above sea level. The topography is undulating and rendered barren by cutting down the trees and clearing the forests for the purpose of setting up industries and building townships. Marang Buru found in the central plateau is most noteworthy not from the point of view of its summit which is only 2,434 ft. i.e., much lower than the range of hills located in the extreme

west which is 3521 feet above sea level. It has sacred importance in the Munda culture which is most significant in the Ranchi district.

The Subarnarekha, the south Koil and the Sanh are the principal rivers of the district. These rivers emanate from the ridge formed by the highest portion of the plateau lying about 10 miles south-west of Ranchi city. The soil of the district is covered by red-yellow light grey casenary soil and some portions of it which are covered by hills and forests are of steep slope and highly dissected regions.

The forests are scattered throughout the district and cover an area of 1679 Sq. miles or 23.83 per cent to the total area. Dry peninsular Sal (*Shorea robusta*) trees are gregarious and form the main type of forest found with patches of Aaan (*Terminalia tomentosa*) and Gamhar (*Gmelina arborea*) which are principal companions of the Sal forest.

The Geology of Ranchi district is formed by laterite in the north-west, archaean lavas and basic igneous rocks including archaean, schists and iron-ore series in the south and Gneisses and granites covered all over the district. The important mineral of economic value found in the district are : (1) Bauxite, (2) Limestone and (3) Chinaclay.

Political history

Chotanagpur was not in isolation any time from the rest of the state of Bihar and also from the country. The non-tribal Hindu castes and Muslims have been living with the tribals of Bihar since time beyond memory. The Chotanagpur plateau was under the Raja of Chotanagpur. But Akbar reduced the Raja to the position of a tributary in 1585, and annexed Chotanagpur to the Subah of Bihar. After the death of Akbar in 1605 it regained its independence, but Ibrahim Khan Fatah-Jang, Governor of Bihar brought it under subjugation in 1616 and fixed a tribute at Rs. 6,000 to be paid by the Raja of Chotanagpur.

The British came into contact with Chotanagpur for the first time in 1769 when Captain Camo reached Hazaribag to establish some sort of order in Chotanagpur which was known as Jharkhand (Jungle country). The Raja of Chotanagpur acknowledged the authority of the British and offered to pay an annual tribute of Rs. 15,000 per year. However, the British granted the Raja to retain his hold on

the internal administration in Chotanagpur. In the reorganization of the conquered provinces which were formed into a district (present Hazaribag district) Ranchi formed a part of this district as a tributary Mahal of Chotanagpur.

Troubles arose in the royal family and the difference of the Raja with his brothers led to repeated disturbances and insurrections launched by the tribals who were entangled in the rivalry among the royal siblings. To quell the uprisings the British used force resulting in extensive casualties in the tribal community. The British also set up police-stations to maintain law and order in the region, and withdrew many powers which the Raja was enjoying. With the attenuation of feudal authority the British introduced in the area the non-tribal revenue collecting agents who resorted to rack renting and exploitation of the tribals. All these activities only accentuated the discontent which was smouldering among the tribals. The Kol insurrection of 1831-32 was an outlet of the tribal discontent caused by the oppression of the Sikh and Muslim Thikadars.

To check the tribal rebellion and maintain law and order the British Government reorganized the administration in Chotanagpur. The creation of South-Western Frontier Agency with headquarters at Lohardaga and the post of an Agent, to the Governor-General as the chief administrative authority of the agency formed an essential part of the administrative reform which was necessary for establishing peace and good government in Chotanagpur. In 1854 the Agent was converted to Commissioner and his Deputy Agents to Deputy Commissioners. In spite of all these administrative precautions the simmering discontent among the tribals did not die out. Dark and ominous clouds gathered on the tribal horizon in greater thickness than before and the uneasy mosaic so characteristic of the late nineteenth century the tribals of Bihar kept the smouldering embers of unrest alive. In fact a cloud burst followed the precipitated tribal unrest and this time it was in the form of an agrarian unrest which was locally known as Sarda agitation. The tribals resented the imposition of forced labour (begari) and illegal enhancement of rent by the intermediaries in 1887. They refused to pay the rent to the landlords and launched widespread campaign against the intermediaries and landlords. This disturbance was at its height in 1895 when a socio-religious

leader known as Birsu Munda appeared on the scene. He started a movement which was half religious and half agrarian. He led and organized thousands of the Munda Peasantry to rid them of the clutches of the Zamindars, Jagirdars and Christian missionaries. He fought to establish a Munda Raj in place of His Majesty's Government and shook the foundation of the British rule. He proclaimed the Khuntkari right of the tribals. According to him the land belonged to the tribals who cut and cleared the forest and made the land cultivable and therefore no rent should be paid for it to anyone. His valiant struggle was directed at expelling all non-tribals called by a derogatory term, Dikus and bringing the country under the Munda rule. He developed courage and confidence in his followers by proclaiming his divine revelations that the guns of the British force would be turned to wood and their bullets to water. He also propagated a religion and gave a new code of life of purity and sanctity to his followers who acclaimed him as Birsu Bhagawan or father of the Earth (Dharti Aba). But this ill fated movement resulted in the massacre of hundreds of the Mundas by the British force tragedy no less ghastly than the famous Jallianwala Bagh incident. Birsu himself died captive in Jail in 1900 and with this his crusade came to a tragic end.

The impact of christianity on the tribals of Chotanagpur was no less disturbing and menacing. It split up the tribal communities into two religious divisions—the christian converted tribals and the non-christian tribals called Sansari. The christian tribals by dint of their better education imparted to them by the Church came in the forefront in all matters, economic, social and political. They imbibed more political consciousness and occupied important leadership positions in the area. They reaped the advantages of all developmental projects and became economically more advanced than the non-christian tribals who were in all respects backward. This disparity between the christian converts and the Sansari laid the foundation of a movement called TANA BHAGAT movement which was launched by the Oraons in 1914. The movement had its genesis not only in the economic disparity between the privileged and wealthy converted tribals and the non-christian tribals but also in the general agrarian issues and in the non-co-operation with the administration.

The religious dimension of the movement consisted in the preachings which were directed towards greater simplicity and purity of life. A Tana Bhagat was required to abstain from intoxicating drinks and animal food. They also looked askance at the tribal dance, music and hunting. The Tana Bhagats were actively involved in the non-co-operation movement initiated by the Indian National Congress. Special help is being extended to Tana Bhagats and their families who suffered in the struggle for National freedom.

This issue of political, economic and educational disparity between the Christian and non-Christian tribals has tended to develop tension of great concern between them. Some of the non-christian tribals who are more vocal and articulate than others among them have already started objections to giving economic and educational privileges to the Christian tribals by the State in view of their progress in such aspects. They are pleading for diverting all developmental funds to them who are very backward. An articulate and effective political elite of the stature of Karkit Oraon has been organizing demonstrations under his leadership to spread the need for greater assistance to the backward section of the Sansari tribals and placing their grievances in the assembly and parliament for consideration. The Jan Sangh has provided its militant leadership to this section and the whole issue has taken the shape of a new trend in the tribal politics which may tend to accentuate in future the tension between the Sansari and Christian tribals rather than resolving it.

The impact of the multiplicity of governmental activities such as Panchayat Raj and Community Development introduced in the tribal areas after independence on the life of the tribals is chaotic to a considerable extent. In the earlier dispensation the tribals were familiar with a few officials such as revenue Collector, village Chowkidar and forest guard. But today the variety and number of officials have multiplied beyond any comprehension. The tribals meet everyday many new exploiters in their country and their dissatisfaction against them is on the increase. With the introduction of Grama Panchayat, and withdrawal of police and revenue function from the tribal chiefs, growth of education and the emergence of new political elites the traditional tribal leaders have lost much of their influence and prestige resulting in disorganisation of old

Parka organisation and politicization of tribal situation in tribal Bihar. The formation of Jharkhand party in 1980 which sprang up as a consequence of this politicization and in the wake of the autonomy granted to the Hill areas of Assam by the Union Government has taken the shape of a separatistic movement making demands for a separate state. This disjunctive force which the Jharkhand Party, the political wing of the Adivasi Mahasabha, has released is being strengthened by the break of isolation of the tribal communities from the main currents of the Indian polity and growing competition in a wider society for political power and autonomy.

The rapid change of national life, development of roadsh communications and broadcast for the tribals from Ranchi station of All India Radio have catapulted the tribals of Bihar from their relative isolation into the vortex of competitive politics. A sizable part of the current manifestations of separatistic and messianic movements that the tribals of Bihar tends to launch is undoubtedly the product of growing political consciousness and manipulative politics. Therefore the tribal situation which is present today in tribal Bihar cannot be viewed in isolation from the wider contexts of the national political policy and processes.

Thus it is seen that the tribal Bihar particularly Chotanagpur of which Ranchi is a part is seething with discontent and the causes of unrest are many. The processes of large scale land alienation, displacement of the tribals from their hearth and home in the wake of industrialization, machinations of agents of exploitation, expropriation of the tribals from the benefits of planned economic change and industrial set-up, unemployment among the tribals particularly among the educated sections, revolution of rising expectations and impact of modernity are some of the most important causes of tribal discontent. In the following section we have presented the study of three tribal villages in the industrial setting of Heavy Engineering Corporation Complex indicating to what extent they derive economic benefit from this source and how are they affected by it.

STUDY VILLAGES

Raidih

Raidih is situated at a distance of 15 miles from Ranchi and is connected by an earthen road. It has all the characteristic features of a

tribal village. It is surrounded by denuded hills and beautiful terraced paddy fields. The houses in the village are constructed with mud plastered brick walls and thatched with handmade tiles. There are 46 households of which 19 houses (88 people) are of the Munda, one (8 people) of the Oron, five (28 people) of the Lohar and 19 houses (180 people) of the Muslims and 2 houses (10 people) of the Ahir. The total population of the village is 293. The total extent of cultivable land is 245.86 acres and it works out as 5.38 acres per family and 0.84 per capita. The Munda and the Muslim constitute 41.3 per cent each of the total households of the village, the former owning only 19.00 per cent and the latter 79.20 per cent of the total cultivable area. The larger portion of land in the hands of the Muslims who have migrated to this village from different neighbouring villages some decades back is an historic accident. When the Zamindari system was in existence, the Zaminder of this village could not pay the peshkash for years and as a result his lands which were situated in this village were put to public auction, and in the process of litigation these lands passed into the hands of the wealthy people of the area. But on account of prolonged litigation and in order to get rid of the troubles arising from such litigation they disposed of these lands in a nominal rate to those who were in need of having land. The muslims of the area who had the means purchased these lands and become large land owners.

Prior to 1960 the people of Raidih were not in the habit of growing vegetables in large quantities because there was no irrigation facilities to water the Dan-lands which are suitable for growing vegetables. In addition there was no demand for the vegetables in the locality as each family meets its requirements from its own kitchen garden in which they grow some common vegetables such as Brijel, Chili, Gourd, etc. in small quantities. But after the establishment of the Hatia industrial complex in the sixties the floating population in the area increased and a demand for the vegetables is created. In response to this demand the people of Raidih have taken to extensive growing of vegetables such as Potato, Tomato, Onion, Ladies finger and varieties of Gourd and Cabbage and cauliflower which they were not growing before. They also adopted many improved practices such as application of fertilizer,

improved seeds, etc. to get better results. The Block authorities helped them in this endeavour by providing lift irrigation facilities to the farmers. The Hajan weekly market which sits on Sundays has become an important business centre for agricultural produce particularly vegetables in the vicinity of Raidih.

In Raidih 1957 per cent of people are landless and 69.53 per cent of people have land between 0.1 acre to 10.00 acres. But the majority of them are on the low side of the range. As pointed out above the Per capita land holding is 0.84 and the intensity of land use is 92.90 per cent. The village tops all other study villages in variety of the crops and vegetables grown in it. The gross yield of these crops particularly paddy per acre of land is fairly high. Accordingly the per capita annual income which is only Rs 391.04 is equally impressive by any normal living standard in the tribal communities of the area. The improvement in agricultural production is reflected in food situation which is on the surplus side in this village. The village produces surplus food for 77.5 days over the quantity required in a year. There is scope for further improvement in the economic condition of the people provided they get suitable employment in the Hatia Industrial complex. Our study shows that the authorities of the industry turn a deaf ear to their appeal for providing them with labour in the industry. The study reveals that not a single one from the village is employed in the industrial setting. Therefore the interested persons and those who are in need of employment go to Assam and West Bengal in off-season to work in tea garden and building of roads and other types of earth work. They feel that they are overlooked, uncared for and deprived of the opportunities which the industry provides to the immigrants. We have noticed that this strong feeling of deprivation has given birth to hostility which the tribes of the villages have expressed towards the authorities and jealousy towards the workers of the industry. Before the situation takes a serious turn it is necessary to create favourable conditions and provide opportunities so that the tribes are absorbed in the industrial labour and develop a commitment to the industrial discipline.

Nawatoli :

The Nawatoli village is situated close to Raidih and inhabited by 24 Oraon families of

172 population. As it is homogeneous in ethnic composition it is also economically less diversified. The main occupation of the people is agriculture supplemented by service and labour. The distribution of land holding shows that 79.16 per cent of people hold land not more than five acres. The per capita land holding in this village is 0.65 acres, that is the lowest of all the study villages. Although the people grow a variety of crops and vegetables in response to the demands of the industrial setting and the produce from land compared with that of Raidih because of the application of improved agricultural practices the economic condition of the people of this village is not as good as that of the people of Raidih. The important reason for this economic backwardness is due to the small land holding, and there is no supplementary source of income of substance which may improve their economic condition. The people of this village have no place in the industrial setting and any attempt at getting absorbed in the industrial labour is foiled by the apathy of the authorities of the industrial organisation. Unlike Raidih which shows surplus of food, supply Nawatoli has a good food gap to the extent of 49.29 days in a year.

This factor intensified their unrest which arises from their dissatisfaction with the authority of the industry for not being given any chance to work in it.

Sataranji—Settlement of displaced persons

Sataranji is a settlement in which the 142 families displaced by the Heavy Engineering Corporation (H.E.C.) from the old Sataranji village and 13 other neighbouring villages have been rehabilitated. Our census of the colony which is furnished in the table shows that of the 142 families, 131 families belong to three tribal Communities (Munda-33, Oraon-89 and Lohar-9) and the remaining 11 families to scheduled caste and caste Hindus (Ahi-5, Barbar-3, Nalk-1, Razwar-1, and Brahmin-1). As many as 109 families of this settlement have migrated from old Sataranji and the neighbouring Dekhal-toli villages which were acquired for the purpose of H.E.C. and the remaining 33 families from 12 other villages some of which were fully and others partially affected by the establishment of H.E.C.

The previous occupations of the displaced tribals were agriculture, wage earning and rickshaw pulling and manual work in Ranchi town

town. Some people had also experience in casual industrial labour. In the process of displacement the people of the settlement lost about 386 acres of land for which they were paid compensation of Rs. 13,10,813-00. The Government also provided homestead land varying from 10 cents to 30 cents to each family on payment of Rs. 47-00 per decimil.

As they had no habit of saving money and not knowing how to spend the money in the most productive way the displaced tribal families squandered away the money in purchasing cycle, radio, watch and fashionable clothes. Some also spent the money in costly items such as scooter, car and truck. As long as the money was with them they ceased to work any where, and kept themselves busy in moving about from place to place, meeting friends and relatives and drinking and merry making. But as soon as the money was exhausted they began to stir out in search of employment in H.E.C and agricultural and manual labour in the neighbouring villages and nearby Ranchi towns.

The present occupational pattern show that of 539 persons of the settlement, 272 persons are employed in various occupations (53 persons in agriculture, 69 in labour, 129 in industry, 21 in miscellaneous works). The average annual income per family is 3709-31 and per capita income is 543-67 (the average family size is 6-82 persons). Compared with other study villages the rehabilitation colonies such as Jelda and Sataranji do not show any problem of food gap. Considering the standard requirement of rice (see table 10) the supply of food in these cases is more than the demand for the year. In the colonies the problem of displacement had lack of facilities are more acute than the food supply. We interviewed a sample of 29 tribal adults working in the industry to find out to what extent they have been able to adjust to their new place and new service, what problems they face in making their living and what commitment they have to the industrial discipline. We have given our findings below.

Of the 29 respondents, 16 respondents were illiterate and had no technical skill. But most of them expressed that going out to work in the industry raises their self-respect. We found that except three women of the study families all others did not work in the industry. But almost all respondents expressed that the working women were appreciated more by their husbands than the non-working women.

Most of the respondents got their employment in the industry by dint of their own effort and labour and they all felt secured in service because they had already gained experience in industrial service. Moreover, they were displaced and the labour union of the industry had sponsored their case to the authorities of the H.E.C. for their employment. The employees got their wages monthly in some cases and weekly in other cases and the payment of wages was regular and they had nothing to complain about it.

Compared with the previous works they were doing in their original habitat they felt that the present job was better, more remunerative and enjoyable. The present industrial service was new to 12 respondents and the remaining 17 respondents had familiarity with such works. But all expressed having equal job satisfaction. They said that apart from money the work in the industry gave them pleasure, company and wide acquaintance with a variety of people. Their opinion was divided in regard to their accepting a better job elsewhere, 17 respondents expressed that they were willing to leave the present job and take up a better one if offered elsewhere but 12 respondents were reluctant to do so on account of their old age.

All expressed that the relationship between them and their employer was cordial and friendly, and therefore they had no difficulty in getting themselves adjusted to the industrial work and surrounding. Moreover, they had nothing to grumble about the working hours. They were required to work eight hours in each working day and unlike the village setting in which the hours of work and working time are very much flexible and irregular the industrial service had fixed and regulated working hours, and this regulated work habits were to their liking. The one hour break for lunch or for rest was appropriate and sufficient as expressed by them. One day off from work in a week was very much to their liking. They spent the weekly holiday in relaxing, visiting friends and relatives, washing and cleaning their clothes and making necessary purchases for their domestic use. They felt most happy when they were in the working place. In fact, their expression suggested that they felt happier in the working place than in their own residence. Probing into the reasons we found that their houses did not have necessary facilities such as electric light, fan, running water, latrine, open space, pucca

building, etc. which they availed of while in the working places. In fact, they urged that such facilities should be provided in the settlement by the employer to make the living in the colony enjoyable. Some of the facilities which they listed to be provided are suitable housing, water supply, transport, marketing facilities, proper security measures, health services, removal of slums and educational facilities, etc. which are the basic needs of their settlement. They were very keen to give education to their children. But they were not able to do so on account of lack of schools either in the colony or anywhere close to it.

Working together in the same industry had fostered esprit-de-corps among themselves and with the co-villagers who formed their working group and with whom they liked to work.

On the whole we noticed among them a sense of commitment to the working discipline of the industry, mainly because some of them had past

experience of industrial labour and the kindly treatment they received from the authorities of the HEC. They have developed a new sense of time and which is in keeping with the working schedule of the industrial service. They express their satisfaction with the industrial labour and express a strong sense of commitment in industrial service. The bad condition under which they are living without necessary facilities does not affect their commitment although they want strongly that better living conditions should be provided to them for their better performance in the industry. Though the tribes of the settlement are exposed to the political influence of the region, they have not yet become militant. The reasons are that no articulate political elite has emerged among them to fight for them. Moreover, most of the tribals of the settlement are engaged in work of some kind or other in Ranchi town, and in the HEC which has given them necessary job satisfaction and therefore feel no need for any militant agitation and political demonstration.

IV

SUMMARY OF THE STUDY VILLAGES

(Bastar, Rourkela and Ranchi)

ETHNIC COMPOSITION

Cultural Zones :

The study covers 10 villages—three in Bastar, four in Sundargarh and three in Ranchi district. The ethnic composition of the study villages presents clearly three cultural areas—

1. The Muria cultural area of Dantewara Tahsil of Bastar, Kirindul and Nakulnar villages fall into this cultural zone.

2. The Doris cultural area of Kosta Tahsil of Bastar. Banda village is in this cultural zone.

3. The Munda-Oran cultural area of Sundargarh district of Orissa and Ranchi district of Bihar. Jadakudar, Chhatitola and Lekhotola and Jelda of Sundargarh district and Raidih, Nawatoli and Sataranji of Ranchi district are included in this zone.

Being geographically contiguous to one another, the tribal communities of the third cultural area are found in both the district and have migrated to both the regions from Chotanagpur plateau which was their original habitat.

Residential Pattern :

The village inhabited by the Muria or the Bison-horn Muria are set among the trees and each house stands in its own garden surrounded by a fence. Thus a village may cover a very large area in consequence. Often a village is composed of anything from six to twelve small hamlets each of which represents the grouping of a family round its patriarchal head. The houses are generally scattered about, sometimes widely scattered to suit to the level of the land and the dimension of the garden, and a street connects them with one another. There does not appear to be any sociological significance in the layout of the village, neither the headman's

nor the priest's house is ever in a special or recognised position. The paras (hamlets) are named after the clan heads.

The settlement pattern—The Muria and the Doris are clearly influenced by the geographical factors. The villages are located in the plains or plateaus. In selecting a site for habitation the tribes naturally prefer such factors which provide them with natural protection. Close proximity to the cultivating fields and permanent water-supply are also important factors which determine the place of habitat. Before the houses are built the divination is resorted to determine the suitability of the site for habitation. Each village consists of 4 to 5 tolas or paras distributed over a wide area on the basis of clans. Each village has a number of foot paths connecting all the paras and in between the tolas the village Gods are installed and honoured. Every village has a guest house called "Thanagudi", which provides accommodation to the Government servants during their visit to the village. In the extreme east of the village lies the burial ground, where they erect big memorial stones decorated with poles and flags in honour of the departed souls. At the outskirts of the village there will be the temple of the mother Goddess, under a mahua or a soja tree.

The areas of the house is divided into a number of functional plots an interior courtyard, the central plinth and hut, the lateral cattle shed and the posterior kitchen garden. The structure of the roof is made of rafters of wood and bamboo. The walls are made of mats of bamboo plastered with mud. The walls are smeared with white, yellow or red paints of local origin. Each hut is provided with a raised verandah, and consists of a bed room, attic, fowl-pen, kitchen and store-room. The cattle shed is a two sloped hut with a low plinth. Every

house has a central hearth to keep the room warm. The huts do not have any windows. The smoke can get out with much difficulty through the open space left at the junction of the walls and the roof: they have some temporary huts specially meant for the menstruous women. The construction of a new house and the repairing of the old ones are generally undertaken in the months of April and May after harvest.

The villages of the Munda, the Oraon, the Kisan, the Kharis and the Bhumi in Sundargarh and Ranchi do not vary very much from one another, but they are in striking contrast to those of the Muria and the Doris of Bastar. The tribal villages in Sundargarh and Ranchi are mostly situated in the plains which are invariably undulating. In some places they are surrounded by the forest and in other places they are located in the river valley. Sometimes it is difficult to trace the way to these villages, as they lie hidden in the forest. The villages are generally small in size, varying from 10 households to 100 households. Each village is divided into a number of tolas (wards) scattered over a wide area. Sometimes the distance from one tola to another may be two or three miles. But the main village and the tolas form a compact unit in ritual, political and economic matters. Each village has a sacred grove marked by some symbols and no one is allowed to cut trees from it.

The villages of the hill Kharis are situated in the thick forests and are shifting in nature. The settlement pattern conform to a scattered pattern, that is, the individual households are scattered in a defined area. The Kharis prefer river bank for the village site whereas the Munda and the Oraon, the highest elevated place near forest.

The villages in the study area are mostly heterogeneous. In a Munda village there may be a few families of the Oraon, the Kisan and other communities. Some families of non-tribal group such as Lohara (blacksmith) and Weavers (tant or Jalha) are found in almost all villages. Each tola or ward of a tribal village is inhabited by the families of a single clan, and all villages are invariably of multiclinal composition.

The residence of the Munda and the Oraon families consists of one or more than one huts. In the case of multiple huts they are built one in each

side of a quadrangle which is used as the court-yard. The domicile is fenced on all sides. Separate places are set apart in the house (for the pigsty, fowl pen, cattle shed, and for sleeping and eating and storing things. The walls of the houses are made of mud and the roof is thatched with hand made tiles. The rooms are dark inside as they are not provided with windows. The walls are white washed or painted with red or yellow clay mixed with cowdung and husks of the paddy. Every tribal household, particularly the Munda keeps the domicile and its surrounding very neat and clean.

The distinguishing features of a tribal village are the existence of certain institutions such as the Akha or the dancing or meeting place, the Saron or the burial ground, the Samra or the sacred grove and the bachelor's dormitory.

Food Habits:

The food eaten by the tribal people varies from season to season. They have no fascination for a particular type of food throughout the year. Generally the food which they take consists of rice, pulses such as horse-gram and blackgram and millets. Besides, they also eat a great variety of green leaves collected from the forest. They also eat vegetables such as brinjal, gourd, pumpkin, sweet potato, tomato, ridge gourd, peas, etc., which they grow in their kitchen garden or on the ridges of paddy fields. Those who live near forest collect roots and tubers which supplement their food.

They are very fond of mohwa flower which they eat by boiling or frying or by mixing with other food stuff such as cereals and pulses. They also collect fruits such as mango, black berry, kendu, sal and ber from the nearby forests and eat them.

The tribal people generally prepare a gruel by cooking rice, ragi and horse-gram together and eat it. The preparation of rice mixed with horse-gram, maize and pumpkin is a great delicacy. The Muria and Doris are very fond of maize which they eat raw or by preparing gruel out of it.

All the tribal communities of our study area eat beef, pork, mutton and chicken. They carry on hunting communally or individually as and when occasion arises or leisure time is available to do so.

The tribal people are fond of drinks. In Bastar, the Muria tap toddy from palmyra palm and Sulphi (sago palm). After returning from work they drink the juice with great delight and forget about the world they live in. The sluphi is highly intoxicating. If they are provoked when they drunk they do not hesitate to commit any murder. The Doria are fond of Palmyra toddy which they drink to get relief from the strain of labour and anxiety. They also drink mahua liquor which they brew at the home or get their supply from the liquor shops. The Munda, the Oraon and other tribal communities of Sundargarh and Ranchi region are accustomed to drink rice beer which they prepare at home from the fermented cooked rice. As liquor shops are now being opened up in the tribal areas the tribal people have given up brewing rice beer and get their requirements from the shops. Wherever Mahua flower is available they distil liquor out of it and drink it.

The tribal people use narcotics to a great extent. In most cases they grow tobacco and meet their supply. Sometimes they get their requirements from the local markets.

SOCIAL ORGANISATION

The Muria and the Doria:

Among the Muria, there are three territorial divisions such as Raja Murias who live around Jagdalpur, Jhoria Murias who live in the interior and the Ghotul Murias who live the most interior places. Similarly territorial divisions are present among the Doria. Each territorial unit recognises a particular locality as the centre from which they dispersed and to this place the local group is attached by a set of rituals observed at the time of funeral ceremony.

The social organisation of both the Murias and the Doria are characterised by a dual organisation which includes two exogamous moieties. This moiety organisation in both the communities is a result of an intrinsic polarisation of the clans into two major segments. In the moiety organisation the spirit of the clan and fraternity is more emphasised. The members of one moiety regard those of the other moiety as *wasabhai* or *akomama*. The members of one moiety worship seven gods and the other moiety worships six gods. The moieties have no specific names. Each moiety has three to four phratries which are locally known as "*Bhadra*"

or brotherhood. The members of a phratry distinguish themselves from the members of other phratries by the number of gods they worship. Each phratry has a name of its own which is not always remembered; but it is identified by the number of gods worshipped. The members of one phratry worship seven gods, the second six gods and the third five and so on.

Each phratry is composed of a number of patrilineal clans or *kur* which are territorial in nature, that is, each clan has a place of origin which is called "*bhum*". The members of each clan maintain territorial affinity with their original *bhum* or home. When any body of a particular clan dies, the other members of the clan visit the original *bhum* for performing a number of rites and rituals and for erecting memorial stones there. During such gatherings at the clan *bhum* the meeting of the clan *panchayat* is held to discuss the affairs of the clan. Each clan has a set of clan gods and is totemic. The totems include animals and plants.

Each clan is divided into a number of lineages which are patrilineal. The members of each lineage group observe certain rites in common, on occasions of birth, death and marriage. Each lineage (*intung*) is divided into a number of families which are mostly nuclear. The family is patriarchal and the members of the family work under the guidance of the patriarchy. Division of labour is practised along the sex line.

The important phase of life among the females commences with the first experience of menstruation. This monthly period takes place at the age of 13 or 14. The menstruous woman lives secluded in a specially built hut for this purpose. After a week of seclusion in each month, she comes back to her normal life and her entry is marked by a purificatory bath.

Both the Muria and the Doria are monogamous. But the occurrence of polygamy is not uncommon among them. In some cases it is resorted to overcome barrenness. In both the communities the tribal endogamy is highly favoured, but in the recent times there is breach of this tradition as a result of the impact of the modern forces.

Bride price is paid in all types of marriages, and the marriage is formalised by having a feast at the groom's house. Divorce is allowed in both the communities. Either partner can seek divorce. Adultery, quansalemeena and sexual disorders are important causes of divorce. Divorces are effected in the village council. Widow remarriage is permitted in both the communities.

In both the communities there are formal councils or panchayats which regulate the social behaviour. The chief functionaries of these councils are the Pedda, Pinapedda, Gaita and Gunia. The village council distributes land among the people of the village. The councils of the paras of a village are autonomous in some respects but the para mukhlas (Headmen of the paras) work in obedience to the Pedda, (village headman).

The Munda: The Munda call themselves Horo-ko (men) and their race Horo (man). They are a patrilineal and patrilocal people. The authority of the father is supreme in the family which generally consists of parents and unmarried children. Women cannot hold or inherit property. A Munda daughter is entitled to maintenance and her marriage expense is borne by her parents. A Munda woman shares in the economic activities of the family. She works both in the field and at home. Her position in the society is high and she is consulted in all new ventures and has an important role to play in bringing up her children.

The Munda is divided into a large number of exogamous clans called killi. According to the Munda tradition all the members of killi are descendants from one common ancestor and therefore the clan is exogamous. Being totemic each clan is associated with an animal or plant.

The Munda observe a number of rituals and festivals which mark the different stages of agricultural operations and life cycle. One of the important rituals is the Jangtapa ceremony which is observed in connection with the burial of the bones in the village sasan and erecting the memorial stones in such occasion. Those who have to perform this ritual invite all the members of his clan from near and far. On an appointed day the congregated relatives go to a nearby hill and select a piece of large stone slab and carry it to the sasan. After observing

all ritual paraphernalia they lay on the pit in which charred bones of the deceased were buried. Unrestricted drinking and eating is the special feature of this occasion and the clan solidarity is revived and revivified by observing such rituals.

The Munda have a lot of superstitious beliefs. All illness, accident or misfortune is attributed to the evil spirits. When a person is taken ill the Mati (witch diviners) is called into diagnosis and prescribe the remedy. They believe in the influence of the evil eye and witch craft.

Despite all superstition the Munda are a cheerful folk and engaged in variety of games and dramatic plays. They also beguile their leisure in folk tales, riddles, and proverbs. Their love-lorn songs, soaked in tenderness and pathos and sung to the accompaniment of instrumental music and artistic dances add zest and relish to their life.

The village is a well defined political and administrative unit. The unity and solidarity of the village emerge most clearly in relation to Government. It is governed by an administrative mechanism which not only regulates life within the village but orders the villages' relations with the outside world. The secular headman of the village among the Munda is called 'Munda', and the religious headman is called Pahan. The Munda is elected by the villagers and the post is also hereditary. He is the representative of the village who enjoys rentfree service land. He settles all disputes regarding all matters. There were Panbharu and Talwar to assist the secular and religious headman of the village.

The Oraon: The Oraon community is divided into a number of exogamous totemic sibs which are unilineal. The membership of a sib is determined by the unilateral descent actual or putative, with ipso facto obligation of an exclusive kind. The peculiar totemistic feature is the basis of the sib organisation which controls the social and religious affairs of this society.

The incidence of divorce among the Oraon, specially in the industrial belt, is very high, and it can be initiated by either party.

The rule of inheritance is that when the head of the family dies, the land may be divided among all his surviving sons. The eldest son gets a small plot in excess of his usual share.

If the sons are born of different wives, the sons of the first wife get a larger share than the sons of the second wife and so on. A widow cannot inherit any property, but she may be given a share for her maintenance as long as she lives in the house or does not remarry.

The whole lineage has the proprietary right over the unoccupied lands and the forest tracts within the village boundary and all transactions of such lands must be made with the consent of the lineage members.

Most of the ailments known to the Oraon are believed to be due to the anger of some evil spirit or to the machinations of witchcraft. Special witch diviners known as *Madi* exist in most villages. After the cause of ailment is diagnosed, the particular spirit is approached and if the same witch is found out the latter is asked to make amends or is made to leave the village.

The Oraon recognise as many as ten different classes of supernatural powers. The highest divinity recognised by the Oraon is *Dharm*. The spirit of the deceased ancestors occupy the second position. They are followed in order by the village deities, clan spirits, goddesses of hunting and war, *khut-bhut* or spirit of the lineage.

The chief Oraon festival is the *Sarbul*, which is followed by a number of ceremonies, dances and festivals. The other main festival is *Sohrai*.

The Oraon have a well-developed village organisation and their traditional system of social control is very efficient. Every village has a panchayat which deals with a number of cases at the village level. A number of villages form a *parha* which is also a court to hear appeals of the decisions of the village panchayat. It has many paraphernalia and the *parha raja* is recognised by age and authority.

The Kisan—

The Kisan are an endogenous tribe divided into several exogenous clans which are totemic. They do not kill or do any harm to the totemic objects. They practise cross cousin marriage and widow marriage among them is permitted.

The Kisan are influenced by the Hinduism. They worship the Hindu gods and goddesses such as Rama, Siva and Lakshmi in addition to their own indigenous deities.

The Kisan have their own political organisation. There is a panchayat in each village and the Panch head is called *Mohato*, his assistant is called *Koewal*. These offices are hereditary. They settle all cases related to the social, religious and political matters. A few villages, taken together form the zonal panchayat, called *Mandal*. The Panch heads of the village panchayats constitute the *Mandal* as its members. The top most political organisation is *Kisan Mahasava* which consists of all the zonal panchayats.

The chiefs of the Mandals are the members of the *Mahasava*. They select from among them the President of the *Mahasava* and the office bearers. The *Mahasava* functions as an appellate court of the Mandals and safeguards the culture and tradition of the tribe.

The Kharis—

The Kharis are divided into three sections namely the Hill Kharis, Doodh Kharis and the Dhoraki Kharis, based on their socio-economic development.

The main sources of their livelihood are agriculture, collection of edible roots and tubers from the forest and wage earning. Fishing and hunting are practised as subsidiary occupations. The Hill Kharis who used to practise shifting cultivation have now given it up and subsist on forest produce. Agricultural labour in season also supplements their income. The other two sections of the tribe practise plough cultivation as the primary source of livelihood and collection of honey and forest produce as supplementary income. In off season they migrate to Assam and work there in tea gardens. The Kharis live in elementary families and are patrilineal, patrilocal and patrilineal, clan organisation and the lineage system which are the salient aspects of their social organisation regulate marriage.

The Bhumij—

The Bhumij are one of the important tribes of the study area i.e., Sundergarh and Ranchi. Racially the Bhumij are proto-australoid and linguistically kolarian. At present the Bhumij speak and understand Hindi and corrupt mixture of Odia and Bengali.

The Bhumij are agriculturists. They have their own lands. They work, in addition, as agricultural labourers to supplement their income. Collection of minor forest produce is also practised by them in season.

ECONOMIC ORGANISATION

Sources of livelihood:

The economic life of the tribals under review mainly revolves round three activities viz. agriculture, collection and sale of minor forest produce and manual and industrial labour. We shall present below a brief account of these sources.

Settled Cultivations:

The main source of livelihood of the tribal people is agriculture. Land is very important to them. The tribal people of Kirindul (Bastar) have lost their land in part and those of Jajda (Sundargarh) and Sataranji (Ranchi) in full as a result of the acquisition of land by the Government for the purpose of Bailadilla iron-ore project in the first case and Hindustan Steel Limited in the second case and HCL and HEC in the third case. After being landless the people of these villages have become wage earners in the industrial complex of their respective areas. In the case of the other villages included in the study, agriculture continues to be the main occupation in addition to the industrial labour and collection of forest produce which supplement their income from land.

The method of cultivation practised by the Munda and the Oraon is very crude and primitive. They pay little attention to the Chotan (Upland) and Khet (paddy land) whereas they take some care of their Bari land (kitchen garden) where they grow maize for their household consumption. Maize which is the much sought after crop of these tribes is grown in the kitchen garden. They grow some vegetables in the kitchen garden but that is all for domestic use. They do not give any particular attention to it. In Chotan and khet lands they never use any manure, whereas they apply all cowdung manure to the kitchen garden. They have never applied any chemical fertilizer in any land. They sow the seeds by broad cast and leave the rest of the operations to the nature to take care. If there is an attack of pests, they resort to divination (kika puka) instead of applying pesticide because of their lack of knowledge about it. On the other hand they undertake all the inter cultures in the kitchen garden to ensure that the maize and the vegetables grow well and they get a good crop.

The tribal people of the villages in Rourkela and Ranchi areas are very industrious and labourious. They take proper care of their

land, carry on the necessary inter-cultures, apply manure, and irrigate the lands wherever the facilities are available. They carry head-loads of manure from the manure pits in their backyard to their respective paddy fields which in some cases are situated far away from their homes and carefully apply them in the fields. They also grow a second crop after the principal paddy crop is harvested. They utilize the banks and valleys of the rivers and hillstreams for growing vegetable. Recently they have expanded vegetable growing for the purpose of selling them in the industrial zone. Formerly, there was no outlet of the vegetables in substantial quantity. That is why they were growing vegetables in limited quantity which was sufficient for their home consumption.

The vegetables growing in the villages of Chutiatola and Lakhotola of Rourkela and Balidih and Nowatal of Ranchi is very much extensive and spectacular improvement has taken place in the economic life of the tribal people as a result of their business in vegetable in the nearby industrial centres. In these areas the tribal people are interested in mechanised agriculture and in fact some farmers are irrigating their land by means of pumps and irrigation wells which they have been able to avail of through the help of Government.

They have taken to growing many new kinds of vegetables and cereals such as potato and wheat which they had never grown before. The agricultural improvement which we notice today in the villages around the industrial belts are largely due to the incentive which the industry has provided. But the same incentive is available to the Kirindul village in Bastar district. The Bailadilla iron-ore project is at a stone's throw distance from the village. But the tribal people are not in the least responsive to this incentive and their agriculture is below the subsistence level and is as primitive as one can easily think of.

We have noticed that the Munda have little knack for carrying on agriculture in the proper manner. Their interest lies more in the possession of land and cattle in bulk and not in their proper development. They carry on their agricultural pursuit and kitchen garden in a very perfunctory manner. Contrasted to them the Munda, the Oraon and the Kisan exhibit great skill and industry in their agricultural pursuit. We have here clearly two different cultural types

which make all the difference in the matter of their response to the industrial incentive for agricultural development.

Besides these causes, it is necessary to go into the details of land holding size, land use pattern, yield from land and seasonal calendar of activities and some of the cultural factors such as cultural heritage, belief system and cognitive orientation which throw light on the cross cultural differences in the field of agriculture.

Size of Land Holding

Land is as dear as life to the tribal people all over India. The tribes of the study villages are not an exception to this hunger for land. According to the analysis of the size of the land holding we can divide the tribal people into three categories :

1. Landless
2. Marginal and moderate land owners (0.01—10.00 acres.) and
3. Large land owners (10.01—20.00 acres and above.)

Except Nakulnar village where the large majority of the tribal people fall into the category of large land owners, all other villages show a pathetic condition. The percentage of the tribal population of these villages falling into the categories of landless and marginal/moderate land holdings varies from 75 to 100. The landlessness and scanty land holding is most in Chutiatola and Lakhotola of Rourkela and Nawatola of Ranchi industrial areas. The condition in Raidih of Ranchi area, Jadakuder of Rourkela area in terms of land holding is equally miserable. More than three-fourth of the population in Benda and Kirindul villages fall within the categories of landless and marginal/moderate land holders. The percentage of landless people in these two villages is greater than that obtained in other villages.

The acute shortage of land in Chutiatola and Lakhotola is due to the extensive acquisition of land in these villages by the Rural Diary Extension Farm and in the case of Nawatola, it is due to the same reason of acquisition by the heavy engineering corporation installed in Ranchi. Kirindul has met the same fate as the Barladilla. Iron Ore Project has acquired most of its land. The industrial establishments paid compensation

to the tribals whose lands were acquired. But not knowing how to invest the amount in the productive manner they squandered away the money in no time and they were also exploited by the scrupulous merchants and business men. Among the villages which have been affected by the process of land acquisition in the wake of industrial development, Chutiatola, Lakhotola and Nawatola are the worst sufferers, because here the per capita land holding is on an average half an acre. Compared with the above three villages Kirindul is in a better condition. Here, the per capita land holding is three times larger than what is noticed in the three villages. What is suggested from the analysis is that the mere holding of land in bulk does not provide sufficient incentive for improving agricultural practices. Other infrastructures such as irrigation and credit facilities are also necessary. But what is most needed is the cultural heritage of the ethnic unit which has the habit of devoting to agricultural practices and knack for adopting innovations in this regard.

The Kisan of Sundargarh district are the best cultivators. They inhabit Chutiatola and Lakhotola in large majority. Even though they have lost most of their land by the process of land acquisition which has been a matter of great concern to them, but they are not disheartened and do not do their agricultural works in a perfunctory manner. They have demonstrated their skill and industry in agriculture. They have changed their agricultural practices according to the needs of the time, adopted agricultural innovations readily which were placed within their reach and demonstrated their skill and industry by utilising whatever resources available to them in the best possible manner. Further they have intensified the land use by putting all the available land under cultivation and putting them under double cropping of a variety of crops and vegetables. Compared with them the Muria of Kirindul present a sluggish picture. They have kept 35.72 acres of land fallow and the practice of double cropping is out of question. On the whole the picture that emerges from the analysis is that the intensity of land use is on the low side in the study villages of Baster whereas it is on the high side in the study villages of Sundargarh and Ranchi. The Baster villages lag far behind while the Sundargarh and Ranchi villages are far advanced in the matter of double cropping.

Besides the interest and cultural habit of the ethnic units, the ecological factor determines the progress in agricultural development. The Bastar villages are lacking in irrigation facilities and therefore lag behind in agricultural improvements. But this is not so in the case of the Sundargarh and Ranchi villages. The Koelift irrigation scheme and the irrigation wells sunk in the Sundargarh villages have been helpful to the farmers in carrying on cultivation and growing double crops in their lands. Assured sources of irrigation is an important factor favouring agricultural development.

The study villages have changed very little in cropping pattern. Even the villages within the orbit of the industrial influence do not show any structural change in the pattern of agriculture. Everywhere paddy remains to be the principal crop grown with the other cereals and millets as usual. The new crops such as wheat and potato and certain vegetables such as cauliflower and tomato which are grown in Chutiatola and Lakhotola do not cover any extensive area of very great significance. The continuity of the traditional cropping pattern is due to the continuity of the old food habits and taste, and small land holding.

That the tribal agriculture is tradition-bound and primitive is evident from the yield of paddy and millets per acre of land in the study villages. The analysis shows that the study villages of Bastar district have a very poor yield of the Cereals, millets and other crops grown there. But the situation gets better in the case of the villages in Sundargarh and Ranchi districts. The low yield of the crops in the villages of Bastar district is due to the adversities of the terrain and the negative human factors which are not so much there in the Sundargarh and Ranchi areas as are found in the Bastar villages. The analysis of the occupational pattern in the study villages shows that it is mostly agriculture oriented. The bulk of the population in all the villages is in the agricultural sector, which includes cultivation of land and agricultural labour. A few people are employed in the industrial belts as labourers and wage earners. Some are employed as forest labour and in road work. There is very little of occupational diversification in spite of the establishment of the many industrial complexes in the tribal areas. The tribal people are rarely employed in the industrial setting because

they lack necessary skill to take up skilled work in the industries and they fail to get even the unskilled work such as earth work, road building, cartage, etc. which are done mostly by outside labourers. The tribal people in general show no commitment to the industrial settings and the authorities are least concerned with the development in the tribal communities of this commitment to the industrial labour and discipline.

In the wake of industrial development in Rourkela and Ranchi many villages have been displaced. Our study includes two such villages. They are Jelda in Rourkela and Sataraji in Ranchi. It was the responsibility of the industrial management to rehabilitate the people of these affected villages and provide suitable employment to them. Our study of these two villages shows that out of 1,431 adults only 751 are employed in agriculture and industry and the remaining 680 persons are still unemployed. Both the workers and non-workers show considerable dissatisfaction towards the state of affairs existing in the industrial setting. For most of those who are employed in the industry, the industrial labour is not to their liking because the working hours and the service disciplines are in general not in conformity with their habits and ways of life. They feel the industrial labour very much taxing and monotonous and very often remain absent from work without prior permission for which they lose their wages. With the result this becomes one of the major causes of their dissatisfaction with the industrial management. For those who are unemployed the feeling of deprivation is most acute. They see that many outsiders are employed in the industrial setting and lead a decent life whereas being the original settlers of the area they are without job and lead a precarious life. They become envious of the employed and hostile to the employers employing them.

Co-operative Labour

Co-operation and unity is the characteristic feature of tribal life. We have examples of co-operation in the tribal societies of the study villages. In the villages of Bastar district we notice that if any one in the village needs labour in his field he informs it in the village meeting. On the appointed day the villagers work in his field and in return for their service the man gives a goat or pig which the villagers together use in a communal feast and share the food.

In Ranohi and Rourkela areas there is a wonderful system of co-operative labour. By this a few families form a group which is called a panch. There may be one or more than one panch in each tola of a village depending upon its size. The panch is nothing but a work team and the members of the team help each other in agricultural operations and other occasions. The man employing the work team has to provide rice, rice beer and dal to the workers of the team for their food after the work is finished. The panch also is recruited by the other panchas and outsiders to take up work in their fields. The same system of payment by food gifts is followed in the later panch and extra panch recruitments. The process of industrialisation has very much weakened the panch system and in many tribal villages it is almost defunct and the labourers demand payment in cash and take up work on individual basis.

In Ranohi area the Co-operative system is called 'Madad' (help) and operationally it is same as that observed in the Bastar villages. Reciprocity and mutuality of obligation is the main principle by which the system of Madad operates. The employer feeds the employed in return for their labour and each and every family in a village is entitled to avail of this system as and when needed.

Income:

As pointed out above the main sources of income of the tribal communities of the study villages are agriculture, agricultural and industrial labour and minor forest produce.

The analysis of the income pattern shows that the annual income varies from one village to the other and the per capita income in the villages which are situated close to the industrial setting is higher than that of the villages which are far away from it. The income from industrial labour is not substantial in any case except for colonies in which the displaced persons are rehabilitated who depend on industrial labour. Some villages within the industrial zone have increased their income from land by growing vegetable and selling them in the industrial towns.

Food Supply:

As the staple food of the tribal communities under study is rice, we have converted all their gross annual income from various sources to cash and then to rice equivalent in Kgs. at the

prevailing market price. This gives the annual supply of food in rice. Then we calculated the annual amount of consumption by taking into consideration the standard intake of food of persons belonging to different age-grades.

This analysis shows that of the 10 villages under study, Jaisa, Sataranj, Raidih and Lakhotola villages have surplus of food whereas the remaining ones are in deficit of food. The first three villages have taken the best advantage of the industrial complex by earning substantially from industrial labour. The last one has improved its income by carrying on business in vegetable in the nearby industrial town. In some cases such as Kirindal and Nawatoli their proximity to the industrial centres has not improved their economic condition as expected.

Two reasons are important for their economic backwardness. First, the agriculture which is their main source of livelihood is most primitive and the income from this source is below the level of subsistence. Second, the people have not taken advantage of the Bailadila-Iron Ore Project which has great potentialities for bringing about change in their economic life. The people coming from outside to this area are employed in the project and earn substantially and live a prosperous life, whereas the local tribals derive little benefit from it.

They are not skilled to take up works in the industry. The contractors and other agencies prefer outsiders to the local tribals because they consider the tribals lazy and their is much less than that of the migrant labour. In fact, the works in which the tribal people would prove well have not been explored and their interest in the industrial labour and commitment to the industrial discipline have not been developed. Their way of life is of special nature which is in contradiction to the industrial way of life. In order to get the tribal people interested in the industrial labour what is required is to provide such works which are in conformity with their thought-ways and work-ways so that they can apply the knowledge and experience of their cultural background to their economic advancement.

Food Intake:

The analysis of the food intake by the simple families of the study village for a period of one week shows a marked deficiency in milk and meat and sufficiency in cereals.

Being under-nourished the cows do not yield any milk. Moreover, the tribals do not evince any interest in milk and milk products. The forest is completely denuded and therefore hunting is only practised to meet the ritual satisfaction. The tribal people still whatever vegetables or oilseeds they grow for cash, and very little of them is used for consumption. That is why the tribal people present a picture of acute deficiency of protein and calory in the food intake. The malnutrition and under-nourishment of the tribal people are reflected in their low working capacity and susceptibility to diseases like intestinal disorders which occur in the greatest severity.

The study of the monthly cycle and seasonal calendar of activities shows that the period of scarcity coincides with the time of harvest in which intensive input of labour in various agricultural operations is required.

This results in further breakdown of health and vigour which are expressed in retarded growth, anemia, anxiety and reduced disease resistance. One of the important by-products of the nutritional deficiency is the anxiety and psychological stress which gives rise to overt hostility and aggression with slightest provocation.

Activities and Months

There was a total number of 8,510 observations which include all the three categories of activities economic, household and personal and leisure. Of them the economic activities number 2,008 (30.85%), household and personal activities number 1,406 (21.60%) and leisure number 3,095 (47.54%) observations. This implies that more time was devoted to leisure activities than any other activity, followed by economic, household and personal activities. The long span of 8 hours devoted to sleep at night which is included in the leisure activities explain why this group of activities number greater observations than the other two.

Taking months separately into consideration we observe that in January and March they devote more time to leisure than to the other two activities. In February and April although more time is devoted to leisure the time devoted to economic activities in these months is greater than that in the months of January and March. But as we have included night in the leisure activities, it counter balances the normal distribution of activities. The data on the work habit of

the tribals shows that the amount of time devoted to different activities is largely guided by their economic life. Being relatively static in all aspects the tribal society observes a monthly rhythm of work activities year after year. This rhythm of work is very little affected by the process of industrialization because the participation of the tribal people in this process is not very much significant.

It also reveals that early morning is mainly devoted to household and personal activities; morning and afternoon to economic activities; noon, evening and night to leisure activities. This work pattern follows the same rhythm of work throughout the year except during lean periods when more time is devoted to leisure than economic activities.

On the whole the data reveals that the tribal people exert considerable effort in their productive activities. They put hard labour in some hours in some months. But they do light work in some hours in some months. Therefore we can infer from this that the work habits of the tribal people are not governed by their will and pleasure but by the environmental conditions of their habitat. They spend as much time at work as they feel they must to meet the needs of their life. In addition, they work as much as is required considering the compelling demands of the environment. Thus the tribal people adhere in a large measure to the pattern of taking their ease at their own pleasure.

Monthly Activities:

The tribal people divide the year into four periods each having three months. A short account of this is given here.

January to March:

The tribal people harvest and thresh paddy, horsegram, Jowar and mustard. During this period they plough and sow wheat, transplant vegetables and collect tamarind. Their food is composed mainly of rice which is harvested during this period. Mahua flower and Laha is being collected from the forest. They eat Mahua flowers after boiling. They also mix tamarind to make gruel which they commonly take. The dried mahua flower is being preserved for consumption in rainy season as well as for distillation of liquor. Some vegetables are produced and marketed during this period. In this period the food is plenty.

April to June:

They do not have any major crop to harvest except wheat, potato and vegetables. But during this period they plough and manure the fields. During this period they collect mahua flower, mahua seeds, Karanja seeds, tamarind and Laha. The sowing of paddy and preparation of nursery beds are being done. This is a transitional period, because the food supply becomes scarce in June. The quantity of food intake is reduced making the people unhappy and unhealthy. They replenish the diet by eating mango and Jack fruits which are available in this period.

July to September:

This period requires hardest labour as most of important agricultural operations such as puddling, transplanting of ragi and paddy, sowing of groundnut, blackgram, samal and jowar and weeding of all crops and growing maize are being done during these months. The people lead a very precarious life in this period for want of food. The works are heavy and the food supply is extremely scarce. They have to work in hungry stomach. In these months a large number of cases of murder and suicide among the Muria take place.

October to December:

During these months ragi, blackgram, samal and paddy are harvested. So the food situation is improved to a great extent. During this period they plough and sow horsegram and mustard. They start ploughing for rabi crops, i.e. wheat, potato and vegetables. Their diet in this season is composed of ragi, samal and rice.

The economic life of the tribal people is marked by a rhythm of a few fat months when food is available in plenty followed by lean months when the food supply is scarce. It is our observation that in a year as many as eight months are months of scarcity and only four months are months of plenty.

Indebtedness:

It is a well-known fact that the tribal people are born in debt and die in debt also. The burden of indebtedness passes from generation to generation. The main cause of their indebtedness is their increasing demand for cash needs as the barter economy of the tribals has been replaced by money economy. They have been influenced by the civilised world outside them. The inaccessible tribal areas have

been opened up by the development of road communication. Waves after waves of non-tribal people penetrated into the interior parts of the tribal areas and started business in new commodities with the tribal people. Slowly they introduced money economy and the tribals felt the need for cash at an increasing rate. To meet the cash needs they borrowed from traders on kind terms. They were on paying the interest but never the capital. It so happened that the amount of debt passed on from father to son and to the grand son and the tribal people were under strict obligation to regularly pay to the money-lenders whatever amount of money they demanded. Finding no other source by which to pay the debt the tribal people mortgaged or sold their land to the non-tribals against the law prohibiting such transactions. However, in the long run the tribal people became impoverished, and their economic condition went from bad to worse. Of course, Governmental sources like co-operative societies, and land development banks extend loan facilities to the tribals. But most of it is exploited by the middle man and merchants who have made fortune at the cost of the tribal people. Moreover, the tribal people are fearful of receiving loan from the co-operative societies. Their belief is that the co-operative society puts their property to public auction if they do not pay the loan timely. Like any other people the tribals consider it most dreadful. That is why their transaction with the co-operative societies is very much restricted, whereas their transaction with the local money lenders who do not put them to any such harassment is very much extensive.

Some recommendations:

1. It is necessary to give the tribal communities particularly those who have been displaced from their hearth and home proper place in the mining and industrial complex. The unskilled tribals should be made skilled by imparting training and knowledge about technical know how through training institutes which should be established in the mining and industrial townships.

2. A scientific study of the life and culture of the tribal communities inhabiting the Bailadila mining area and Rourkela and Ranchi industrial areas needs to be done to find out their social and economic organization, and their aptitude, habits and customs so that this knowledge may

be utilized with profit to evolve suitable programmes and strategies for their development and for their participation in the mining and industrial services.

3. A few outsiders have been carrying on business in money lending and the illiterate tribals who have fallen in their grip are exploited beyond measure. The practice of money lending by the private agencies should be banned forthwith and in its place the Government should evolve as a top priority a comprehensive programme of credit facility aiming at extending financial assistance in the form of short and long term loans to the tribals for meeting their daily necessities, and improving their agriculture, animal husbandry and cottage industry.

4. The slums in which the displaced tribals are rehabilitated are not fit for human habitation. The tribals, who were the original settlers of the place were modern residential quarters provided with all facilities such as road, light, water supply, market, school, hospital, library, and community centre have been constructed for the occupation of the immigrants working in the industry, have no place in this township, and are treated in such a manner as if they are foreign to this place. In the fitness of things that is urgently needed is to provide similar residential accommodation and facilities to the displaced tribals, and their colony made an integral part of the Ispat township at Rourkela and H. E. C. township of Ranchi.

5. The tribal communities should be encouraged and provided scope for taking part in the clubs, cultural organisation and community centre which are established in the Balladia and Ispat and H. E. C. townships exclusively for the non-tribal staff and workers of these installations. The joint participation of the tribals and the non-tribals in staging each others dances, music and plays in such centres would not only enrich the variety shows but also lead to understanding each other better, and fellow feeling and emotional integration with one another.

6. In one of the publications of the Rourkela steel plant it is stressed that "Rourkela steel

men through forming a homogeneous community want to preserve their regional cultures, languages and traditions". By this they rightly mean that India has always been heterogeneous in terms of race, language, religion and culture. The essence of Indian unity lies in this diversity and any attempt towards unity to succeed must be within the framework, of this cultural religious and ethnic pluralism.

Some statements such as those mentioned above do not foster inter ethnic integration. Emotional integration does not flow from administrative control or it does not take place as a result of economic development either. It is a two-way process and requires understanding each others common and consistent set of values, norms and aptitudes and adjustment on the part of the multitude of ethnically and culturally discrete communities. It grows out of sustained interaction between different communities.

The adjustment, interaction, the values and norms mentioned above have to be put into practice by the non-tribal majority section of the industrial township if the confidence of the tribals is to be gained and if they are to be drawn to the limelight. In no cultural activities and performances which are reported in News Bulletins of the industrial townships do we have participation of the tribals of the region. The social and welfare facilities available in the industrial townships including services in the mining and industrial projects are monopolised by the non-tribals neglecting the tribal communities in large measure. A great deal of what is happening in Rourkela and other places today and the growing tension and militant agitation which we come across among the tribals are related to their fear of losing their cultural heritage and to the harassment and exploitation to which they are subject. What kind of attitude, and what kind of policy we should adopt in regard to the industrial areas largely depend upon the factors which seem to be responsible for the weaknesses in tribe-non-tribe understanding and their co-ordination at different levels for emotional integration and technological advancement. It is only by a scientific study of their problems in depth that we could identify and define the factors which facilitating and hinder emotional integration.

A study of this type would also enable us to devise ways and means by which to foster the co-ordinated approach, inter ethnic adjustment and emotional integration.

7. The last but not the least suggestion is to have on the staff of the mining and industrial complex an anthropologist who would guide such studies, and look into the tribal problems

in all their ramifications so that the inter ethnic interaction is promoted and sustained on the basis of mutual understanding and smoother approach. His expertise may also be utilized for formulating suitable strategies for tribal development and examining the multi-dimensional implications of any solution to tribal problems which would proceed hand in hand with the technological advancement.

APPENDIX I

TABLE 1

Ethnic Composition and Population of study villages

Ethnic Composition and Population of study villages												
Sl. No.	Name of the Tribe or Caste	(1)	(2)	Bastar		Sundargarh				Ranchi		
				Keindul	Nakulgar	Banda	Jodakudar	Chulitola	Lakhotola	Jalda	Satanaji	Raidia	Nawadoli
			(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
1	Muria		230	415	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2	Doria		..	..	190	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3	Halba		..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4	Gond		..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5	Munda		..	..	..	459	24	..	152	199	93	..
6	Oron		..	..	..	213	78	..	133	642	6	172
7	Mundari		..	..	..	..	..	..	139	..	..	..
8	Bhumil		..	..	..	..	..	..	281	..	..	..
9	Kharia		..	..	..	..	..	..	81	..	..	..
10	Kisan		..	..	..	..	149	97	11	..	..	..
11	Bhumia		..	..	..	..	..	40	16	..	..	..
12	Bhagar		..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..
13	Lohara		..	..	9*	7*	..	..	162	50	29	..
14	Scheduled Castes..		..	..	5	50	..	16	167	..	..	..
15	Others		16	118	..	..	..	..	413	78	160	..
	Total		246	539	212	720	251	163	969	881	293	172

Note: * Included as tribals, @ Included as scheduled castes

APPENDIX-I

TABLE No.-2

Distribution of Landholding size by Families

The table below gives the distribution of landholding in different size classes

Name of the village (1)	Landless labour (2)	0-1 to 5-00 acres (3)	5-01 to 10-00 acres (4)	10-01 to 15-00 acres (5)	15-01 to 20-00 acres (6)	20-01 acres and above (7)	Total (8)
1. Kirindul	18 (40-91)	4 (9-09)	11 (25-00)	2 (4-55)	..	9 (20-45)	44 (100-00)
2. Nakulnar	12 (20-69)	2 (3-45)	7 (12-07)	6 (10-34)	9 (15-52)	22 (37-93)	53 (100-00)
3. Banda	14 (35-33)	13 (30-95)	6 (14-28)	5 (11-90)	4 (9-53)	..	42 (100-00)
4. Jadrikudar	11 (10-09)	58 (53-21)	25 (22-94)	2 (1-83)	7 (6-42)	6 (5-51)	109 (100-00)
5. Chasafola	3 (7-32)	36 (89-37)	3 (7-31)	..	..	..	41 (100-00)
6. Lakhrola	5 (21-74)	12 (52-17)	5 (21-74)	..	..	1 (4-38)	23 (100-00)
7. Rudhli	9 (19-57)	25 (54-34)	7 (15-22)	1 (2-17)	..	4 (8-70)	46 (100-00)
8. Nawasoli	..	19 (79-16)	4 (16-57)	1 (4-17)	..	..	24 (100-00)

Note—The figures in the brackets are columnised percentages

APPENDIX-I

TABLE No.-3

Average landholding size per family and per capita landholding

Village	No. of families	Total population	Total extent of land (acres)	Average size of land holding per family	Per capita land holding
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Kirindul	..	44	230	372.18	7.44
Nakulnar	..	58	415	1,259.47	21.72
Banda	..	42	204	216.32	5.15
Jadakudar	..	109	720	662.94	6.08
Chutiatola	..	41	251	99.99	2.44
Lakhotola	..	23	153	98.25	4.44
Raidih	..	46	293	245.86	5.34
Nawatoli	..	24	172	85.51	3.98

APPENDIX-I

TABLE No.-4

Intensity of land-use

Village	Total extent of land (including current fallows)	Total cultivated area (gross cropped area)	Intensity of land-use	Area sown more than once	Percentage to net cultivable areas
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1. Kirindul	..	372.18	239.25	64.28	..
2. Nakulnar	..	1259.10	645.10	51.29	43.00
3. Banda	..	216.32	154.16	76.25	..
4. Jadakudar	..	697.46	597.46	85.60	12.00
5. Chutiatola	..	99.99	120.28	120.29	31.36
6. Lakhotola	..	98.25	87.25	88.80	..
7. Raidih	..	245.86	225.70	92.80	14.70
8. Nawatoli	..	85.51	103.66	108.43	11.05

*Includes an extent of 12.65 acres of land leased out to the cultivators of Lakhotola during rabi season.

APPENDIX-I

Table No.-5

Cropping pattern

Crops		Kiringul	Nakulnar	Banda	Jadokadar	Chuti- tola	Lakhp- tola	Raidih	Nawa- toli
(1)		(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Paddy	..	106-90	328-00	62-47	503-62	87-17	74-50	150-40	71-80
Samal	..	58-05	178-60	28-35	5-50	..	0-50	7-50	0-75
Garba	..	33-25	48-50	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sikma	..	27-85	11-50	..	..	..	..	..	..
Jowar	..	..	..	61-13	..	..	..	..	..
Maize	..	12-40	37-50	5-20	..	..	..	..	..
Horsegram	..	..	..	..	60-70	0-75	31-50	8-90	2-41
Blackgram	..	..	..	..	1-30	..	..	9-30	8-80
Ragi	..	..	..	..	1-85	..	1-10	24-50	8-75
Groundnut	..	..	..	..	..	1-00	4-00	..	..
@Red-gram	..	..	..	..	2-75	..	2-00	..	..
Gram	..	..	..	..	1-00	..	..	0-40	..
Wheat	..	..	..	..	3-00	10-31	*..	0-55	..
Potato	..	..	..	..	..	6-85	@..	1-10	1-80
Mustard	..	..	38-50	..	..	1-00	..	0-75	..
Til	..	..	8-50	..	..	..	..	6-50	1-05
Vegetables	..	..	..	..	17-74	0-55	2-00	5-80	8-20
Total	..	239-25	645-10	154-15	597-48	120-28	87-60	225-70	103-56

Note—* In an extent of 4-70 wheat was grown and

② In an extent 7-95 potato was grown in leased in land from Chutiata in the Rabi season. This has not been included in individual crops of this village.

APPENDIX I

TABLE No. 9

Per Acre Average Gross Yield (Kgs.)

Sl. No.	Crops	Kirindul	Nakulnar	Banda	Jadakodar	Chabotola	Lakhotola	Raidih	Nawatoli
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
1	Paddy	..	117 352	113 932	308 529	295 758	317 907	659 353	530 118
2	Sesul	..	87 180	73 007	82 304	..	240 000	84 257	106 867
3	Garka	..	69 744	..	..	..	..	..	..
4	Sikma	..	76 600	..	..	..	..	..	..
5	Jowar	..	..	76 578	..	..	..	..	..
6	Mulze	..	123 468	105 770	..	..	..	..	..
7	Horsegram	..	..	..	91 221	100 567	91 428	73 708	133 610
8	Blackgram	..	..	..	58 481	..	..	79 171	123 295
9	Ragi	..	..	..	63 243	..	77 272	128 062	129 143
10	Groundnut	..	..	..	..	185 000	237 900	..	..
11	Redgram	..	..	..	119 272	..	110 000	..	..
12	Gean	..	..	..	20 000	..	..	300 000	..
13	Wheat	..	..	..	468 567	583 900	610 538	163 636	..
14	Potato	..	..	..	..	2,270 073	1,779 874	2,254 545	1,556 695
15	Mustard	..	..	..	..	100 00	..	60 000	..
16	Til	..	..	..	..	..	..	94 615	87 620
17	Vegetables	..	..	..	Rs. 549-10	Rs. 627-27	Rs. 800-00	Rs. 614-66	Rs. 436-37

APPENDIX I

TABLE No. 7

Occupation pattern—Main and Subsidiary (Agriculture village)

Occupations	Kiriñdal		Nakulnar		Banda		Jadkajdar		Chutiarola		Lakhotele		Raidih		Nowatoli	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)
AGRICULTURE																
Main	48	51	115	123	40	38	137	92	31	35	15	20	51	35	34	42
Subs:	3	3	..	..	13	12	12	24	14	15	13	7	2	16	..	4
*MANUAL LABOUR																
Main	15	11	..	..	14	18	18	10	13	8	4	2	7	6	1	3
Subs:	38	23	81	67	35	31	73	70	19	28	7	9	22	26	25	20
INDUSTRIAL SERVICE																
Main	1	..	..	..	..	..	15	12	9	3	13	9	..	..	..	..
Subs:	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
**CIVIL SERVICE																
Main	..	..	1	..	..	..	9	5	5	1	4	..	9	1	13	3
Subs:	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
BUSINESS																
Main	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	2	2	..	1
Subs:	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	4	..	..	..	..	16	1	1	9
***OTHERS																
Main	..	..	..	..	1	..	9	57	2	22	..	13	3	37	..	1
Subs:	..	..	..	..	2	..	22	11	1	11	1	9	..	2	..	..
NO OCCUPATION																
Main	1	9	2	5	..	5	3	15	2	5	..	2	1	2	..	3
Subs:	24	45	36	71	5	16	76	72	27	20	15	21	29	38	22	20
TOTAL																
Main	65	71	118	128	55	59	192	181	62	74	36	46	73	83	48	53
Subs:	65	71	118	123	55	59	192	181	62	74	36	46	73	83	48	53

Note:—*Includes agricultural, industrial, forest and other manual labourer.

**Includes migrant casual labourers to other States.

***Includes household works.

APPENDIX I

TABLE 8

Occupation pattern (main occupation) (for Industrial Rehabilitation Colonies)

Village	Agriculture		Manual Labour		Industrial Service		Others		Total Workers		Able Illiterate Workers		Workers (15 to 16 years) Literate		No. of Families in Service		No. of Families not in service
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)
Jalga ..	24	11	78	37	208	5	29	6	349	59	150	335	248	35	184		68
Sagaraji ..	33	20	31	38	123	6	17	4	204	68	114	290	126	33	114		28

APPENDIX I

TABLE 9

Sourcewise per family average income, total per family income and Per Capita Annual Income (Rupees)

Villages	Average family size	Agriculture	Labour	Forest	Service	Others	Per family average income	Per capita annual income
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Kirindol ..	5.25	273.19	624.32	149.77	..	12.50	1,059.78	202.74
Nakulnar ..	7.15	657.08	214.74	148.79	51.72	32.62	1,104.27	154.33
Banda ..	4.85	261.54	372.44	58.78	..	148.66	846.51	180.37
Jaldh—C' ..	6.20	..	..	..	..	..	3,368.28	546.85
Charlatola ..	6.00	650.61	418.39	21.59	896.96	17.43	2,005.00	327.51
Lakhotola ..	6.65	1,043.86	239.95	19.56	1,876.65	58.26	2,934.33	441.33
Jadakudar ..	6.06	898.14	266.30	41.63	255.96	207.66	1,652.46	260.16
Sataranj ..	6.82	..	..	..	..	..	3,709.51	543.57
Raidih ..	6.37	1,206.00	360.43	104.89	247.91	670.83	2,490.77	391.04
Nawatoli ..	7.16	1,136.00	427.08	108.12	207.06	223.64	2,102.93	293.29

APPENDIX I

TABLE 10
DEMAND AND SUPPLY OF FOOD
(Food Gap)

Villages	Total	Annual Food requirement (rice) Kgs.	Annual Food supply (rice) Kgs.	Surplus/Deficit of food rice	Surplus/Deficit in days
(1)		(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Kirindul ..	230	59,465-580	34,541-110	-24,914-470	-152-95
Nakulnar ..	415	108,886-800	55,693-391	-53,193,409	-175-31
Banda ..	204	50,846-760	30,898-600	-20,048-439	-143-64
Jajda-'C' ..	1,649	404,401-240	699,253-600	+294,852-360	+266-18
Chutlatola ..	251	67,489-980	65,764-088	-1,725-872	-9-34
Lakhotola ..	163	38,907-640	53,891-656	+15,084-116	+141-50
Jadekudar ..	720	198,099-640	144,094-184	-54,004-456	-89-50
Sataranji ..	969	247,785-360	396,824-000	+149,038-640	+219-54
Raidih ..	293	75,585-220	91,660-288	+16,075-068	+77-5
Nawatoli ..	172	46,657-200	40,356-584	-6,300-216	-49-29

Note—Standard requirement of rice per meal

Child—(0-9 years) 0-166 Kg.

Adolescent—(10-14 years) 0-250 Kgs.

Adult—(15 and above) 0-500 Kgs.

APPENDIX I

TABLE 11
Showing Sufficiency and Deficiency in percentage of food intake of Seven Tribal Villages of Rourkela and Ranchi Industrial Belts

Food Items	Jadekudar (33)	Chutlatola (20)	Lakhotola (10)	Jajda (40)	Raidih (9)	Nawatoli (11)	Sataranji (30)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Cereals ..	+31-3	+14-4	+27-3	+58-8	+29-1	+82-7	+44-8
Pulses ..	-86-0	-74-9	-68-2	-38-5	-92-8	-72-7	-73-4
Vegetables ..	+74-5	+123-7	+218-6	+234-9	+82-1	+49-7	+121-4
Meat/Fish ..	-90-0	-65-7	-74-9	-33-4	-75-0	-72-5	+32-4
Sugar/Jaggery	-82-6	-93-1	-85-2	-89-2	-100-0	-100-0	-66-1
Milk ..	-100-0	-100-0	-100-0	-100-0	-100-0	-100-0	-100-0
Oil/Fats ..	-79-8	-84-7	-72-7	-58-3	-84-4	-47-2	-59-1
Calory ..	-18-7	-36-7	-20-2	-14-0	-22-3	-11-6	-23-7
Protein ..	-52-9	-58-4	-46-6	-30-0	-46-8	-35-2	-36-2

APPENDIX I

TABLE 12

Seasonal Calendar and Food Situation

Months	Paddy	Ragi	Horisgram and Blackgram	Millets	Groundnut, Til, Mustard	Vegetables	Wheat	Potato	Food position
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
January	Harvesting Threshing	..	Harvesting & Threshing (HG)	Harvesting Jowar	Harvesting of Mustard	Ploughing, transplanting, weeding	Ploughing, and sowing	Ploughing, & sowing	Plenty
February	..	..	..	..	..	Weeding, weeding, etc.	Weeding & watering	Bunding, manuring, watering	Plenty
March	.. Ploughing	..	..	..	..	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Do.
April	.. Ploughing	..	..	..	..	Ditto	Harvesting, threshing	Harvesting & sowing	Normal
May	.. Ploughing, sowing & manuring	Ploughing and manuring	..	Ploughing	Ploughing (GN)	..	..	..	Less than normal
June	.. Sowing, raising nursery	Sowing	Ploughing (B. G.)	Ploughing & Sowing	Ploughing	..	..	..	Scarce

TABLE 12 (Contd.)

Months	Paddy	Ragi	Horsegram and Blackgram	Millrite	Groundnut, Til, Mustard	Vegetables	Wheat	Potato	Food position
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
July	Inter-culture and transplanting.	Transplanting.	Sowing of Blackgram.	Weeding	Sowing til	Grnt. ploughing and sowing kharif vegetables.	..	..	Scarce
August	Inter-culture, transplanting and weeding.	Weeding	..	..	Weeding	Weeding	..	..	Scarce
September	Weeding	..	..	Harvesting	Weeding (G. rag)	..	..	..	Short supply
October	Harvesting of short term paddy.	Harvesting & threshing	Harvesting & threshing (HG) ploughing and sowing (HG).	Harvesting	Harvesting G. nut ploughing soil mustard.	..	..	..	Short supply
November	Harvesting and transport.	..	..	..	Harvesting til.	..	..	..	Normal
December	Harvesting, transport and threshing.	..	..	..	..	ploughing	Ploughing	Ploughing	Plenty

APPENDIX-I

TABLE-13

Months and Activities

Months		Economic Activities	Household/ personal activities	Leisure	Total
(1)		(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
January	..	358 (25.83)	320 (23.09)	708 (51.08)	1,386 (100.00)
February	..	415 (30.88)	301 (22.38)	628 (46.73)	1,344 (100.00)
March	..	465 (27.68)	341 (20.30)	874 (52.02)	1,680 (100.00)
April	..	771 (27.88)	441 (21.14)	885 (42.14)	2,100 (100.00)
Total	..	2,009 (30.86)	1,406 (21.60)	3,095 (47.54)	6,510 (100.00)

APPENDIX-I

TABLE-14

Time period and activities

Time interval		Economic activities	Household/ personal activities	Leisure	Total
(1)		(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Early Morning (4.30 a. m. to 7.30 a. m.)	..	203 (18.7)	835 (77.0)	47 (4.3)	1,085 (100.00)
Morning (7.30 a. m. to 12.30 p. m.)	..	643 (59.3)	216 (19.9)	225 (20.8)	1,085 (100.00)
Noon (12.30 p. m. to 2.30 p. m.)	..	224 (20.6)	78 (7.2)	783 (72.2)	1,085 (100.00)
Afternoon (2.30 p. m. to 5.30 p. m.)	..	526 (48.6)	153 (14.1)	406 (37.4)	1,085 (100.00)
Evening (5.30 p. m. to 7.30 p. m.)	..	368 (33.9)	124 (11.4)	593 (54.7)	1,085 (100.00)
Night (7.30 p. m. to 4.30 a. m.)	..	45 (4.1)	..	1,040 (95.9)	1,085 (100.00)
Total	..	2,009 (30.9)	1,406 (21.6)	3,095 (47.5)	6,510 (100.00)

APPENDIX-I

TABLE-15

Indebtedness and Sources of loan

Villages	Co-opera- tive Societies	Bank/ Takkavi	Private	Others	Kind Loan	Total No. of beneficiaries	Actual No. of families in debt
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1. Kirindul	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2. Nakuinar	.. 4 (2,100-00)	..	..	..	..	4 (2,100-00)	4 (2,100-00)
3. Banda	.. 1 (500-00)	..	4 (160-00)	..	1 (30-000)	6 (660-00 & 30-000 Kgs.)	6
4. Jadakudar	.. 6 (1,900-00)	8 (19,960-00)	8 (1,826-00)	4 (325-00)	6 (492-000)	29 (24,001-00 & 492-000 Kgs.)	28
5. Chutiatola	.. 3 (600-00)	6 (7,420-00)	1 (900-00)	1 (400-00)	1 (100-00)	12 (9,320-00 & 100-000 Kgs.)	10
6. Lakhotola	.. 3 (1,800-00)	3 (586-00)	3 (700-00)	8 (2,540-00)	..	17 (5,706-00)	14
7. Ralidih	.. 21 (5,310-00)	3 (860-00)	27 (12,147-00)	..	1 (37-500)	52 (18,117-00 & 37-500 Kgs.)	31
8. Nawasoli	.. 5 (800-00)	..	5 (3,020-00)	..	.. (3,820-00)	10	8

Note—Figures in the parantheses represent amount

A small project on the Float Ore for the economic development of the Muria of Bastar

Out of the major national undertakings Bailadila Iron Ore Project under the aegis of National Mineral Development Corporation was started in this area, to develop the fabulously rich and immense reserves of iron ore in the Bailadila Range. Some estimates put the reserves at about 3,000 million tonnes of direct shipping ores in this range, concentrated mainly in fourteen groups of deposits.

Under the first phase of this development NMDC developed the deposit 14 Mine, as a completely mechanised mine with an ultimate targetted production capacity of 4 million tonnes of sized ore per year for the purpose of export to Japan. A second mechanised mine of similar capacity at Deposit 5 is under construction.

However, in such highly mechanised mines, the personnel requirement is only of the every skilled type, well-trained in the operation and maintenance of the various sophisticated and highly automatic machines equipments and plans.

The local tribal population being mostly without such an educational background has been largely left out of the scope of this employment opportunity.

However, besides the mechanised means of production from the main ore bodies, NMDC has also been engaged in carrying out mining operations on some of the float ore deposits along the eastern flanks of the range.

These float ore deposits are nothing but concentration of iron ores, which got detached from the main ore bodies at the hill-top and then rolled down the slopes and deposited in soil in thickness of 1 to 10 metres. Iron ore, here, occurs in the form of pebbles and boulders of varying size embedded in soil, individual pockets extending from 200 metres to 1 km. or even more in width. Such ore bodies are most conveniently and economically mined by manual means. The operation requires excavation with pickaxes and then sorting out of the ore pieces followed by sining of the same within desired limits (—150mm to +98mm). The sized ore is then loaded manually into the ordinary trucks or tipping trucks and the ore is transported to the nearest stock-pile at the Railway Yard. At

Khindul, such float ore is presently unloaded through the mechanised loading plant. Besides Khindul siding facility exists at Bacheli. Here the ore is loaded by manual means. Siding facilities for loading $\frac{1}{2}$ rake a day (i.e. 1100 tonnes approximately) at Bhansi and extension of present $\frac{1}{2}$ rake facility at Bacheli to full one rake are under construction. These siding facilities at Bacheli and Bhansi have been created primarily to load float ores by manual means. At present all the float ore mining transportation and loading operations are being carried out through private contractors. The nature of float ore mining operation is such as to provide opportunity for the employment of local tribal population. The present float ore contracts besides employing some local tribal people also employ large number of labourers from the adjoining districts of Chattisgarh (M.P.), Orissa and Andhra Pradesh.

The present scheme envisages the employment of local tribal population by organising on co-operative basis in float ore mining so that:

1. Section of the local tribal population gets gainful employment.
2. The labour so employed by being organised co-operative basis will be free from the exploitation usual with the working of private contractors, with the profits going to the labourer themselves.
3. The local tribal population will develop a sense of participation in the great task of developing the fabulously rich and immense iron ore resources of the Bailadila range.
4. This labour force so employed on co-operative basis will provide adequate benefits and amenities, so that a keen sense of healthy competition with the workings of private contractors develops in this region, resulting in many direct and indirect benefits.
5. Finally, NMDC will also get some quantity of ore to help the commitments of export.

Selection of the float ore area

The following conveniently located float ore areas are available for taking up by the proposed co-operative of local Adivasis:

1. Float ore areas around Bhansi

2. Float ore areas at Bacheli between Railway line and the NMDC Kameli-Kirindul road.

3. Float area of Districts 1 and 1A at Bacheli

These areas are shown in figure 1.

1. Float ore areas around Bhanal, NMDC at present is holding lease for three float ore pockets occurring near Bhanal. These pockets are (Figs. 2 & 3)—

(a) Pocket 1 with a total estimated reserve of 5,00,000 tonnes and is well connected with Bhanal Railway Siding by a permanent road (on the road leading from Bhanal to Department 5). The average lead to the siding is 4 kms.

(b) Pocket 2 occurs 1km east of pocket 1 and contain a total reserve of 1,00,000 tonnes. A road has to be constructed to connect it with pocket 1 to take out the ore from here.

(c) Pocket 3—This occurs 2 kms. further east of pocket 2 and is at present not connected by road. The total reserve is estimated at 1,50,000. Ore from all the above pockets can be transported to Bhanal Railway siding. This siding is at present under construction and may take about 6 months to be ready for regular loading of $\frac{1}{2}$ rake (or 1100 tonnes) per day. However, intermittent loading on one of the two existing operating lines can be started immediately (this has the concurrence of the Railways).

The proposed co-operative society can take up mining of this area immediately and start with intermittent loading at the moment and gradually build up to $\frac{1}{2}$ rake a day supply and loading by the time the siding gets ready. Besides the above pockets, there are occurrences of float ore in the adjoining teak plantation areas (for which mining lease has not been obtained.) Reserves in the area covered by plantation are estimated at about 9,00,000 tonnes. These areas, also can be taken up later on, when work on timber may be taken up by the proposed society simultaneously. At $\frac{1}{2}$ rake a day supply and loading the three pockets discussed above (excluding the area covered by teak plantation) will last more than 2 years. NMDC have already issued NIT (Notice inviting tender) in the press for this area. The proposed society can easily quote for this work and the work later on can be awarded to the society even if it requires negotiation. The main difficulty in starting work in this area is that—

(a) roads will have to be constructed to connect pockets 2 & 3 requiring sometime and capital investment. However work can be started immediately at pocket 1.

(b) The railway siding at Bhanal for regular daily loading will require some time for construction. This is the greatest handicap which may ultimately cause intermittent stoppages till the siding gets ready in next six months time.

(c) The area is virgin, and no mining has yet been undertaken in this area.

II Float ore area Bacheli lying between railway line and NMDC road: This area (Fig. No. 1 and 2) has a minimum reserve of about 2,00,000 tonnes and is on the main NMDC Kameli-Kirindul road. This ore can be taken to Kirindul mechanised stockpile by the existing NMDC road and thus no new road can be constructed for starting the work. The average lead will be 7 kms. Though the area is nearer to Bacheli railway siding (average distance being 3-4 kms), there will not be siding facility available at Bacheli for loading this ore as the present siding facility is for $\frac{1}{2}$ rake a day and already allotted to a contractor. The extended $\frac{1}{2}$ rake siding under construction is earmarked for supply from Districts 1 & 1A discussed below and will take another six months or even more time. Mining in this area can be taken up immediately and as such a tremendous advantage that it is not tied up with construction of siding or road. NMDC submitted application for mining lease more than a month back. State Government has to expedite granting of the same.

III. Float ore of Districts 1 & 1A at Bacheli

These two areas (Fig. 1) have a minimum reserve of 2,50,000 tonnes and the average lead to Bacheli Rly. siding is 35 Kms. This area is already developed as Mining was being carried out earlier (in fact the contract of previous contractor has been terminated and settlement terms with the previous contractor are under finalisation) and is connected by regular road to the Rly. siding. However, the siding facilities at Bacheli (i.e. the extension of present facility from $\frac{1}{2}$ rake) already allotted to another contractor so full rake are under construction and will not be ready in another six months' time).

For starting the work this area has the advantage that—(a) the roads are developed.

(b) the mining faces are already developed.

- (c) However the greatest difficulty is that no siding facility is available at the moment for immediate taking up of the work.

It is recommended that the proposed co-operative society to be formed of local tribals should start its activities by work of raising float ores of Bachel lying between Rly. line and NMDC Road marked Nine Figs. and discussed in II above. The ore is to be of minimum + 65 per cent Fe (average of 15 days' supply and is to be within 150 mm and 9.8 m under size 5 per cent and over size 2½ per cent tolerances).

The work should start by—

- (1) employing 500 local Adivasis by organising them as members of co-operative society.

- (2) Immediately start raising the ore in quarry

- (3) Immediately start transportation of ore to the Kirindul mechanised stockpile. For this, if the purchase of trucks gets delayed, trucks may be obtained on hire.

- (4) After regular operation for about a month start to increase production rate by increasing the labour strength.

- (5) From an initial start of production rate of 500 tonnes/day the society should aim at supplying + loading 1,100 tonnes a day within three months of start. If the siding facility gets ready, the work on loading also be started at Kirindul manual yard in another 1½ months' time (a separate rate of loading is also provided. When the Bachel siding for accepting this ore get ready in six months or so; this ore can be transported to Bachel for loading from this as this will have much shorter lead (3-4 Kms.) compared to 8 Kms to Kirindul. For unloading at Kirindul mechanised stockpile, which is likely to get congested with much truck movement, expediting section and installation of the two conveyors at the stockpile for quick drawal of areas as proposed by the project is needed. For such a production rate, labour force required will be 1,000, the remaining 500 labourers can be made into members or employed on contract work basis. Once the society makes the modest beginning, there is 2 tremendous scope before it to increase its activity in a big way in the future. The total remaining float ore reserves along the eastern flanks of the Bailadila range are about 6 million tonnes.

The existing contracts with the private contractors earmarking the areas other than the areas discussed above will end by 31st March 1971. NMDC will have to award new contracts before 1-4-1970 for supplies from these areas, which will have a potential of supplying up to a tune of 6,00,000 tonnes per year. If the proposed society functions well, it can also be awarded some of these areas in April, 1971.

IV. Constitution of the Society:

The scheme envisages the engagement of local tribals for mining, transportation and loading of the ore into wagons. The labourers themselves will form into a co-operative society, only local tribals will be allowed to be members of the society. The society will be got registered with initial 500 members and will be affiliated to the M. P. State Tribal Co-operative Development Corporation and the latter will work on a 60:40 partnership basis with the primary society. The finances will be provided by the Corporation and the supervision will also be done by it. Technical advice will be rendered free N. M. D. C. The labourers besides getting their wages or dues as per the daily output will also be entitled their shares of profit by being members of the society.

V. Capital Outlay of the Project:

The capital outlay of the scheme is worked out as follows:

1. Towards purchase of 10 trucks (rest of the trucks to be required will be kept on hire).	Rs. 5,00,000
2. Towards purchase of tools, tackle.	Rs. 25,000
3. Towards establishment of huts for the labourers of members of the society.	Rs. 1,00,000
4. Working capital	Rs. 45,000
5. Miscellaneous, including registration.	Rs. 5,000
Total	Rs. 6,75,000

1. The local banks are agreeable to pay 75 per cent of this amount (as given to undersand by the District Authorities). The society thus would require Rs. 1,68,750 by way of capital. As suggested by the District Authorities this capital can be given by M.P. State Tribal Co-operative Development Corporation.

VI. Other Functions of Society

The proposed society besides carrying out the work of raising ore will also ensure that the following works of social necessities to set example in living as a model and ideal community:—

1. Neat layout of the camp and keeping the camp clean.
2. Establish a primary school at the camp with arrangement for adult education in the evening. Arrangements also are to be made for boys and girls in higher classes being educated at the nearest NMDC school.
3. Establish a medical dispensary at the camp.

VII. National Mineral Development Corporation's role to help the work of the Society:

It is proposed that NMDC should extend the following help to the society for its smooth functioning:—

1. Extend necessary technical advice in laying out mining benches in the quarry and in layout of the roads.
2. Extend necessary help as regards finding out the ore of stipulated quality and quantity.
3. Extend necessary help in the operational method and system in the light of experiences gained in the area.

4. Give tools and tackles if required at normal payment.

5. Give other equipments if available for other necessary works.

6. Give advance payments up to certain percentage in respect to part of works completed for example on the amount of ore mined or on the amount of ore transported.

7. NMDC is to award the work of the area as recommended for supplying 5,000 to 10,000 tonnes each month for the first 3 months and thereafter 25,000 tonnes per month (excluding said months when the supply be reduced to 10,000 tonnes per month in July, August and September. The award may be made initially for 12 months on the basis of the rates mentioned in the report in pages 14 & 15 the rate is also quite competitive as compared to prevailing rates in the area) without going in for tender, but on the basis of an offer to be made in writing by the society. The total quantity will be 2 lakh dry metric tonnes of minimum 65 per cent Fe (average of 15 days supply) of ore between sizes 150 mm. and 9.8 mm. (5 per cent under size and +2.5 per cent over size tolerance, again on 15 days' average). NMDC may also advance a sum of Rs. 1.50 lakhs to the proposed society with suitable guarantee so that the work can be taken up immediately without society's waiting for arranging initial capital.

VIII. Economics and profitability:

The cost of operation can be worked out as follows in the light of costs being incurred for such works in the Bailadila area at present.

The operation involves mining, transportation of ore from quarry to NMDC's mechanised stockpile at Kirindul and overhead including supervision, establishment of camp, interest, social heads, etc.

Operational cost/tonne

	Head	Cost per tonne on each sub- head	On each head
	(1)	(2)	(3)
		Rs. P.	Rs. P.
1. Mining:			
(a) Payment of wages for raising	..	2.20	
(b) Royalty to forest	..	0.15	
(c) Roads to quarry	..	0.10	
(d) Pitting and quality and jungle cutting	..	0.05	2.50
2. Transportation:			
(a) Payment towards trucks including loading and unloading.		4.80	
(b) Towards men at stockpile and road maintenance.		0.23	5.00
3. Overhead			
(a) Towards camp establishment	...	0.35	
(b) Incidentat	..	0.20	
(c) Social	..	0.15	
(d) Supervision	..	0.20	0.90
4. Profit			0.60
			<hr/>
			8.00
			<hr/>

It may be seen that this rate of Rs. 8.00 will have reasonable margin of profit and at the same time quite competitive, if we consider the prevailing rates of supply at Balladila.

When the siding at Kirindul manual yard get ready, and if the society is required to do loading, an additional cost of Rs. 1.00 per tonne will be incurred.

5. Loading :

(a) Labour charges	..	0.85	
(b) Exigency for demurrage etc.	..	0.15	1.00

This including loading at Kirindul manual yard, the rate would work out at Rs. 10.00 per tonne

1. Summary and Recommendations

More than 80 per cent of the local inhabitants around the fabulously rich and immense Bailadila Iron-Ore Deposits belong to scheduled tribes or Adivasis. To ensure the participation of these people in the development of these deposits commensurate with their genius and capability, it is proposed to :

- (1) Form a Co-operative Society of Local Adivasis with an initial membership of 500 for the purpose of raising float ore at Bailadila.
- (2) The society is to start with an initial production of 500 tonnes/day and to reach 1,100 tonnes/day in three months time.
- (3) The work is to be started immediately by hiring trucks, but purchase of 10 trucks initially in three months time is proposed.
- (4) The capital outlay is estimated at Rs. 8,75,000—75 per cent of which is to be obtained as loans from local banks and the rest from Madhya Pradesh State Tribal Co-operative Development Corporation.
- (5) N M D C is to provide necessary technical assistance to give such equipments as required by the society and help in arranging advance payments as well as extend all other necessary help for smooth functioning of society's work.
- (6) Calculation of cost of operation indicates competitive working with good margin of profit.
- (7) The society so formed would work and leave as a model community.
- (8) There is tremendous scope of increasing the activities of the society in a big way for many years to come.
- (9) It is recommended that the scheme as proposed for supply of initially 2 lakhs tonnes of ore in the first 12 months at the rate of 9.00 rupees/tonne and Rs. 10.00 per tonne for loading at Kirindul manual yard (the rate worked out is quite competitive as compared to the prevailing rates at Bailadila) on the basis of offer to be made by the society in writing without going in for tender be approved. N M D C may also advance a sum of Rs. 1.50 lakhs to the society, so that the work of the society may start immediately without waiting for arranging the initial capital.